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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-128 *5 July 1995*

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CE To Help on Hungarian-Romanian Treaty

LD0307115895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] International experts are to help in the preparation of the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty, our correspondent Tibor Bogdan reports from Bucharest.

[Bogdan] The Council of Europe [CE] is to give legal assistance to Romania in the interest of finalizing the Romanian-Hungarian basic treaty. For this purpose, a committee of four legal experts representing the CE will go to Romania in the near future. According to the announcement made in Bucharest, the CE experts will primarily want to remove Romanian suspicions connected with CE Recommendation 1201 [referring to local autonomy on the basis of ethnic criteria] and to prove that this document in no way endangers the sovereignty of the Romanian state, inasmuch as it does not sanctify either the collective minority rights or regional autonomy on an ethnic basis.

Opinions are divided in Romania with regard to the CE's initiative. Certain political circles have welcomed the move, while others consider the mediation to be unnatural, saying that there is no open conflict between Romania and Hungary.

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Greek Defense Minister Arrives With Delegation

AU0407153895 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Jul 95

[Report by Tefta Radi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis arrived at the Rinas Airport at 0850 this morning.

Asked about the goal of his visit to our country, Mr. Arsenis said:

[Begin recording, in English fading into Albanian translation] Well, it is the first visit of a Greek foreign minister to this country. I have come here to strengthen our relations, the relations between Albania and Greece. I will hold talks with my Albanian colleague, Zhulali, and meet the country's political leaders. I think we will emerge with very good results. [end recording]

At Rinas airport, Greek Defense Minister Yerasimos Arsenis was received by his Albanian counterpart, Safet Zhulali, and Defense Ministry representatives. The Greek ambassador in Tirana, Khristos Tsalikis, and other embassy functionaries were also present.

A casual ceremony was held at the Defense Ministry to welcome the Greek defense minister. The national anthems of both countries were played.

Ministers Zhulali and Arsenis reviewed the guard of honor. Bilateral talks then started between the two delegations presided over by Albanian and Greek Defense Ministers Zhulali and Arsenis.

After the informal greetings, Zhulali said he considers the visit by his Greek counterpart to be historic. Greek Minister Arsenis considered it as very important following Greek Prime Minister Karolios Papoulias's visit to our country.

Bilateral talks focused on augmenting good relations that currently exist between the two countries and strengthening cooperation and relations between both institutions and countries, as well as the role of Albania and Greece in the Balkan region as factors of peace and stability.

The Greek defense minister invited Zhulali to visit the Republic of Greece.

After bilateral talks between the two delegations and the Zhulali-Arsenis talks concluded, both ministers made statements for television:

[Begin Zhulali recording in Albanian with passage-by-passage translation into Greek] We held an extremely useful meeting. The meeting between our two delegations examined bilateral relations. With my colleague, Arsenis, we discussed [words indistinct] and of resuming cooperation contacts. It was our mutual desire to cooperate within the Partnership for Peace framework and carry out joint exercises and increase bilateral cooperation in various fields, such as in the field of military medicine, and also to maintain contacts at the level of plain officers. We also agreed to continue high-level contacts and to maintain direct contacts in case any problems would arise. [Words indistinct] to support Albania join NATO and the Western European Union. In general, we found understanding and agreement on all the topics we discussed. [end recording]

[Begin Arsenis recording in Greek fading into Albanian translation] As you know, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias visited Albania recently. With the contacts established, he created a framework for cooperation in all fields between Albania and Greece. With my counterpart, Zhulali, today, we discussed cooperation in the military field. I would like to tell you that the discussion was very valuable and useful in raising the cooperation that has just started at a higher level. We agreed that this cooperation should proceed at a faster rate, such as in the field of military health services, the exchange of visits by military, etc. What is important is that groups of specialists will discuss these specific problems and their actualization.

I would like to stress that I am very pleased that Mr. Minister accepted my invitation to visit Athens soon as my guest. [end recording]

The delegation was also received by the chief of the Army General Staff, General Sheme Kosova.

Holds Military Cooperation Talks

AU0407154395 Tirana Radio Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A joint press statement on the bilateral talks between the Albanian and Greek military delegations stressed that the talks have laid out new bases to further develop bilateral cooperation with reciprocal interest, and also expressed the need to maintain good neighborliness and relations in the interests of stability and peace in the region. They discussed the course that has been followed so far in cooperation, considering Albania's participation in the Neo Spirit '95 exercise—within the framework of the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative—to be a positive step, and determined areas of mutual interest in the future, [words indistinct] of the military medicine, of receiving treatment in the Greek hospitals and clinics, of education, holding joint exercises and activities in the PFP framework, exchanging experience through the

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visits of soldiers and ships and the mutual exchange of observers, etc.

During the bilateral talks, they agreed that working groups of military experts from both countries should prepare and detail a program of cooperation with reciprocal interest for the Armed Forces of Albania and Greece.

The aides of both ministers signed a military cooperation program. The delegations exchanged their views on the situation in the region and stated that they should work to stop the conflict from spreading to the south in an effort to achieve peace and stability in the Balkans and reduce tension through seeking a diplomatic solution.

On the last day of his visit, the Greek foreign minister visited the Central Army Hospital.

Discusses Relations With Berisha

LD0407211295 Tirana Radio in English 1830 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The president of the Republic of Albania, Sali Berisha, told the Greek Minister of National Defence, Yerasimos Arsenis, in their meeting, that "I appreciate the important steps undertaken in the relations between our two countries, as well as the joint determination to build a sure and [word indistinct] the future between our two peoples."

After pointing out the specific importance of the relations in the military field, the president expressed a desire and goodwill for good relations also in economy, culture and other fields, for the creation of a new infrastructure of friendship and cooperation.

Also the Albanian president expressed to Arsenis the gratitude for the Greek Government and deputies' support to the Albanians' membership in the Council of Europe. "I have been convinced of the Greek Government's support, and for this I would like to thank you. I was glad to observe the parliamentary consensus, which isn't easy to obtained by the parliamentarians."

Minister Arsenis told President Berisha the greetings from Premier Papandreou [as heard]. He stressed the need of materializing the cooperation in military as part of the cooperation in other fields (?to close the gap) between Albania and Greece.

He expressed his government's readiness to support Albania in the international institutions because only through this (?will we succeed to convert our insecure region into a region of peace and stability. They also discussed talks) on the work carried out to complete the treaty of friendship between our two countries as soon as possible. [passage indistinct] At the end of this meeting President Berisha expressed a desire for a visit by the Greek premier, Papandreou, [as heard] to Albania soon.

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Turkey's Demirel To Help With NATO Admission

AU0407164695 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 4 July, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel arrived in Bulgaria on a three-day official visit. Our reporter Silviya Velikova reports on Mr. Demirel's meetings and talks in Sofia.

[Velikova] The Turkish head of state had a meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelev that lasted almost an hour. The meeting between the official Bulgarian and Turkish delegations was approximately as long.

The two presidents made short statements after their meeting.

According to President Demirel, the visit will give a new impetus to developing Bulgarian-Turkish relations and cooperation in all spheres, without this cooperation being directed against a third country.

According to President Zhelev, political contacts at all levels—presidential, parliamentary, and governmental—are necessary, as well as strengthening military-technical cooperation and relations between the two countries' General Staffs.

The trade exchange between Bulgaria and Turkey grew 10 times in the last five years, President Zhelev noted, and said that this fact poses new problems that must be immediately resolved.

The Balkans and security in the region was the other topic at the official talks in the Boyana residence. The wish of Bulgaria and Turkey to become full-fledged members of the EU has also been discussed during the private meeting of Presidents Zhelev and Demirel.

We must help each other in striving to become regular EU members, Turkish President Demirel said and promised the help of his country for Bulgaria's admission to NATO.

Russian GS Officer Holds Talks on Cooperation

AU0307134895 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 29 Jun 95 p 1

[Report by Dyanko Shishkin: "Bilateral Cooperation in Specific Directions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Expanding and strengthening bilateral military cooperation on the basis of the plan signed in March by the defense ministers of Bulgaria and Russia—this was the main topic of the talks between Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov and Colonel General Dmitriy Kharchenko, head of the "International Military Cooperation" Main Administration and deputy commander of the Russian Army General Staff [GS]. Minister Pavlov and Col. Gen. Kharchenko expressed their common conviction that the goals envisaged in the plan will be implemented through the joint efforts of the two ministries.

Issues related to Russia's debt to Bulgaria were also brought up during the talks. Confidence was expressed that, after specifying the agreements that have been achieved, the debt will be settled by the end of the year. The Bulgarian military will continue their training at Russian military education establishments in accordance with our Army's needs. The joint opinion was expressed that expanding military cooperation will develop in the direction of mutual benefit.

The meeting was attended by Dimitur Mitkov, deputy minister of defense on military-political issues, and Lieutenant General Siemon Petkovski, head of the Military-Economic Bloc.

Afterwards, Col. Gen. Dmitriy Kharchenko was received by Col. Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov, commander of the Bulgarian Army GS. Issues of bilateral cooperation were discussed and the timetable of previously signed agreements specified.

Agreements Signed

AU0307153795 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by Vasil Dimitrov: "New Step in Bilateral Relations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The working visit to Bulgaria of the Russian delegation led by Colonel General Dmitriy Kharchenko, deputy commander of the Russian Army General Staff and head of the "International Military Cooperation" Main Administration, ended on 29 June. Deputy Minister of Defense Dimitur Mitkov and Col. Gen. Kharchenko signed a protocol on the results of the visit, a working protocol on the conditions of supplying spare parts for the Bulgarian Army's combat equipment, and an additional agreement on admitting Bulgarian military to the Russian military education establishments. The ceremony was attended by Col. Gen. Tsvetan Totomirov, commander of the Bulgarian Army General Staff; Vladimir Penchev, deputy minister of defense; Khristo Smolenov, parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Defense; Lt. Gen. Lyuben Pekhlivanov, deputy commander of the General Staff; Lt. Gen. Simeon Petkovski, head of the Military-Economic Bloc; and Anatoliy Kiselev, Russian military attache in Sofia.

This is how Mr. Mitkov assessed the importance of the document:

"The documents reflect the talks we conducted in various areas of our cooperation. They encompass the

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training of cadres, the supply of equipment, and issues related to modernizing the Bulgarian Army combat equipment. The timetable is short but prudent, and this means that we will work in a very intensive manner for implementing the intentions we incorporated in the documents."

For his part, Col. Gen. Kharchenko said the following:

"The visit had a working character. I am satisfied with the results we achieved. The documents we signed determine the basic enterprises and timetable of our military-technical cooperation issues and the modernization of Bulgarian Army weapons. I think that this is a very big step for the Bulgarian Army in the process of developing relations between the two Armies."

Gechev Views Results of Moscow Talks on Economy

AU0307151095 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jun 95 p 6

[Interview with Rumen Gechev, Bulgarian deputy prime minister and minister of economic cooperation, by Goran Gotev and Vasil Popov; place and date not given: "Russia Must Reduce Bulgarian Goods' Duties"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [DUMA] What are your impressions of the Russian businessmen's interest in Bulgaria, and how do you assess Bulgarian-Russian economic relations over the past four to five years?

[Gechev] The business forum of Bulgarian and Russian companies was very encouraging. I briefed the participants on the economic situation in our country, stressed that our economy is beginning an upsurge and that its structure is changing, and pointed out that favorable conditions for foreign investments are being created. I also said that it is obvious that the potential of Russian business is not being utilized in Bulgaria. For example, Russian investments in Bulgaria amount to less than $2 million, more precisely, $1.8 million, which is inadmissible. Germany is in first place in our country regarding the total scope of investments, while Greece is in first place regarding the number of companies investing. [passage omitted]

[DUMA] The Bulgarian media reported that you again posed the issue of reducing the high duties on Bulgarian goods imported into Russia. Did you achieve anything in this area?

[Gechev] I had meeting with Economics Minister Yevgeniy Yasin and Finance Minister Viktor Panskov. One of the issues I posed involved reducing the duties, because, regardless of how paradoxically it may sound, we are paying higher duties than Turkey, for example. The reason—Turkey has the status of a developing country, despite the fact that it has a higher GDP and income per capita than Bulgaria. The reason for this is that the Bulgarian Government in 1992, 1993, and 1994 was not interested in this issue. [passage omitted]

[DUMA] How does Moscow view problems in Bulgarian-Russian relations in recent years?

[Gechev] During the talks, we reached the conclusions that what has happened in Bulgarian-Russian relations in recent years is a great misunderstanding that must be eliminated. Of course, we do not mean to restore the entire front of our economic relations, because the realities are different now. However, the potential is great and, from an economic point of view, it would be a crime to not utilize it.

Bulgaria must follow a policy of accelerated association in the EU. However, following our economic and strategic interests, we must do everything possible to conduct a rational foreign policy and utilize opportunities from which our country could benefit in all directions, including the East. We want to pose those relations on the basis of Bulgaria's economic interests, without serving any political and ideological dogmas. It is good that the ice is also cracking in Russia.

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Prime Minister in Portugal on Official Visit

Praises Good Relations

LD0307124895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus is on an official visit to Portugal. Our special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina has phoned to give us details of the visit so far.

[Konvalina] The Czech prime minister began his first visit to Portugal with talks with his host, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva. The talks lasted over an hour. After the talks, the Portuguese prime minister told journalists that Portugal supports enlarging the European Union with other countries, including the Czech Republic.

We have learned from diplomatic sources that, until now, Portugal was more cautious on the issue and preferred to see Malta and Cyprus join the EU before the countries of eastern and central Europe.

Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said that, with regard to the political aspects of Czech-Portuguese relations, the two prime minister have achieved maximum results. These good relations should now be reflected especially in more trade as well as in other spheres. Economic cooperation should be made easier, among other things, by an interbank agreement concluded today between Investicni a Postovni Banka and Caixa Geral de Depositos, which is the largest Portuguese bank.

Receives Support for EU Entry

LD0307202795 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 2000 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Cavaco Silva has said that Portugal supports the Czech Republic's membership in the European Union [EU]. Cavaco Silva is having dinner this evening with his Czech counterpart, Vaclav Klaus, in Lisbon. Cavaco Silva has described the Czech Republic's wish to join the EU as legitimate, and to this end Cavaco Silva said Portugal will continue to support the Czech economic reforms.

Cavaco Silva toasted the development of relations between the two countries, relations he described as politically exemplary.

Official Denies Klaus Accepted Invitation to Iran

LD0507102795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Some media have said that Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus accepted the invitation to visit Iran that he received from Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati at the international economic forum at Crans Montana in Switzerland. Czech radio asked Vadim Petrov, government press spokesman, to provide further details:

[Begin Petrov recording] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus on 1 July met Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati at Crans Montana and was invited by him to visit Iran. The invitation was made. The prime minister, however, has not accepted it, and its acceptance is not being considered on any account. [end recording]

Klaus on Relations With Slovakia, China, Taiwan

AU0307145195 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jun 95 pp 1, 3

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova in Prague on 29 June: "I Was Surprised by Meciar's Reaction"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Martinkova] Were you surprised by the reaction of the Slovak prime minister to the invitation to meet in Cannes?

[Klaus] Yes, I was really surprised by his reaction, but I am a realistic politician and am aware of the need to endeavor to maintain positive and constructive relations nonetheless. I am not aware of any reason to complicate this possibility in the future by uttering a strong word right now, although I am well aware that the Czech public hopes to hear such a word from me. Nevertheless, that is not my style.

[Martinkova] The Chinese ambassador was just leaving your study. Does that mean that the diplomatic upheaval following the visit by the Taiwanese prime minister has not yet calmed down?

[Klaus] The visit by the Chinese ambassador was a courtesy visit. In terms of protocol, it was connected with the old ambassador concluding his mission and the new one beginning his. Of course, even this formal visit touched upon the issues raised by the visit of the Taiwanese prime minister.

I must observe that the Chinese consider it to be an interference in their internal affairs. We cannot, however, under any circumstances, consider Taiwanese affairs to be an internal issue of China. That would be against our way of perceiving the world. [passage omitted]

[Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 30 June on page 2 reports on a statement made by Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in this context for DENNI TELEGRAF: "Taiwan is an existing entity, and, although we are interested in the best and most constructive relations with China, we cannot promise that such informal contacts would not exist in the future."]

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Klaus on Meciar Refusal To Meet, Yugoslavia, EU

AU0407114895 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 30 Jun 95 p 3

["Regular" interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Tomas Chalupa in Prague on 29 June: "The Moment of Submitting the Application Is Not Linked to the Actual Joining of the EU"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Chalupa] How would you explain Prime Minister Meciar's attitude toward your mutual meeting? What do you believe is the reason for Slovakia's constant refusal of such a meeting?

[Klaus] I do not mean to buttress the rhetorics because I believe it would in no way help our task of maintaining positive relations with Slovakia. For myself, I do not intend to spoil them by some strong or witty statements that might please some of your readers. Of course, I am aware of some difficult problems the Slovak Government does not have sufficient freedom to solve, and, in essence, their moves are forced. Because Prime Minister Meciar has the feeling that of all of the basic issues that remain from the time of the partition of the state it is precisely these that are being discussed, he thinks he has no room to maneuver and fears that the meeting would not bring any tangible results. I believe it is still necessary to talk and seek openings for a solution.

[Chalupa] Do you consider it good to link the termination of the clearing account to the existence of the customs union?

[Klaus] The clearing account and the customs union really have nothing in common, and to put them together is a purely political issue.

During your stay in Cannes, you also took part in a debate on the current situation in former Yugoslavia. Did you observe any real change in the debate?

[Klaus] No, I did not notice any real change. The captivating introductory explanation by Prime Minister John Major within the framework of a working lunch was very realistic and based on a main thesis, to which I also subscribe, that the parties involved do not have any desire or will to find a solution. Paradoxically, the first, second, or third party still believe that something can be achieved other than by war actions. The question is how to alter the ideas of the former Yugoslav countries that are involved, whether one should wait until they themselves arrive at this conclusion or whether the European Union or any of us has any idea how to speed up this process. I spoke with Carl Bildt, who now heads the EU mission in these countries, and I cannot say he was very optimistic. Nevertheless, I believe this provides him with an opportunity for prominence throughout Europe, and he grasped it with great enthusiasm and elan. I hope that he, as a pragmatic politician, will be able to achieve more than Lord Owen and other negotiators.

[Chalupa] Another country from our region—Slovakia—submitted its EU-membership application during this summit. We are the only country that has not yet done so. Do you consider the submission of the application at this time to be nonproductive and unwarranted?

[Klaus] Every prime minister of the EU member countries with whom I discussed this issue clearly indicated that the time of submitting the application is in no way linked to the actual joining of the EU, and we repeatedly returned to the topic in Cannes. [passage omitted]

Further on Entry Into EU

LD0407195295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1615 GMT 4 Jul 95

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by special correspondent Miroslav Konvalina in Portugal, date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Konvalina] The number-one topic you discussed this week at the European Union summit in Cannes, the economic forum in Crans Montana, and even here in Portugal is the EU. A Portuguese paper today said we were not in a hurry to get to the EU. Is this true, and how would you define the current phase of our approaching the EU?

[Klaus] I think that the question of whether or not we are in a hurry is somewhat false. We have repeated many times, at all of these summits and meetings, that we have no alternative to EU entry. Maybe we are choosing a somewhat different strategy. It seems to me it is of no use to knock at the door too loudly and be angry that no definitive dates have been set, to ask for extra meetings and so on, as has been the practice of some of our neighbors. We are simply not doing this. We know well that the countries of the EU must first go through their—I think very complicated—intergovernmental conference, which will start in about 1996. It will be at this conference that further progress will be decided upon. I think that, after that, serious talks about EU entry can start. It is really no good to knock at the door more loudly today. [passage omitted]

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Parliament To Raise Retirement Age Gradually

AU0507085595 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by "ajk, kac": "Retirement Will Be Delayed: The Retirement Age Will Be Raised Gradually"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The retirement age (of gaining entitlement to the retirement pension) will be raised. This is the gist of the government pension plan bill passed by the parliament in the first minutes of yesterday. The law responds to the fact that society is aging, and, while there will be more people entitled to collect pensions, the number of the gainfully employed will begin to decline.

The retirement age will be raised gradually over the next few years. At present, men can retire at age 60, and women, according to the number of children they have raised, between ages 53 and 57. Starting next January, the retirement age will be raised by two months for men and four months for women, the following year by four months for men and eight months for women.

"Raising the retirement age gradually will result in 2007 in the retirement age of 62 for men, 57 for women who have raised five or more children, and 61 for childless women," Jindrich Vodicka, minister of labor and social affairs, said.

The law will, however, also facilitate early retirement. Before 2000, those people will be able to retire who will be at most three years short of the retirement age. Between 2001 and 2006, those workers four years short of the retirement age will be able to retire, and a five-years-early retirement will be feasible after 2007. Whoever takes advantage of this option, however, must accept a lower pension until he or she reaches the regular retirement age.

Beginning now, the pension-plan funds consisting of the premiums paid by those gainfully employed will no longer be managed as a part of the state budget but, rather, deposited directly in a special state treasury account. According to the coalition representatives, it is the first step toward the management of the pension funds by a special body, which should prevent the use of the pension funds for purposes other than pension payments.

The bill has been discussed for more than a year. The opposition and the trade unions completely disagree with it, and the People's party has also strongly opposed it. These votes were made up, however, in the Chamber by the deputies of the Czech and Moravian Center Union.

Commentary Analyzes Situation Within Coalition

AU0407162095 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 3 Jul 95 p 6

[Commentary by Jiri Leschtina: "Dangerous Temptations on the Coalition Highway"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The critical comments made by ODA [Civic Democratic Alliance] and the KDU-CSL [Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party] regarding the prime minister's compromise with the railroad workers, the scuttling of the law on higher territorial units by the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] deputies, and the conflict between the KDU-CSL and the rest of the coalition in debating the law on pensions have all swelled the already turbulent surface of the government's waters.

Despite this, however, following the dramatic two-week parliament session, it cannot be said at the moment that the coalition is losing its viability. The approval of important tax amendments and key social laws in particular pro[illegible]vrong certain opposition leaders heralding the gove[illegible]nt's premature legislative impotence.

The most recent days in parliament have, first and foremost, spoiled the rather simplified image of a barricade between the ODS and the KDS [Christian Democratic Party] on the one side and ODA and the KDU-CSL on the other. In the matter of the law on the regions, the ODS, for example, was left isolated against the rest of the coalition, including the KDS. Then, in the debate on pensions, the KDU-CSL was, for a change, left alone in its inflexibility.

And, at that very moment, the myth about the irreplaceability of the smaller coalition parties collapsed when the opposition CMUS [Bohemian-Moravian Center Party] "jumped in" for the KDU-CSL and, with its votes, provided the majority necessary for the adoption of the pension law. In the lobbies, CMUS representatives made it quite clear that this does not have to be an isolated case, for, as one of the Moravians declared, their party has shifted "2 mm to the right of center."

No matter how appropriate the skepticism about the CMUS's sudden shift to the right is, the smaller coalition parties have to bear one thing in mind: The ODS has forged serious ties to a relatively strong opposition club, which may shuffle the cards here and there in the coalition's games.

It is true that, in the case of the law on pensions, the KDU-CSL pushed itself out of the game mainly through its own maladroitness. Its ministers supported the law in the government, but the party's leadership then adopted

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a tough negative stance that did not leave any room for bargaining.

Despite this, it would be dangerous if the ODS were to succumb further to the temptation to promote important laws against the will of some of the governing parties. This could eat away at the coalition, right down to the marrow, and could destroy the basic trust between the governing parties to such an extent that they would be unable to cooperate in a new cabinet following a possible electoral victory.

Despite the slight decline in the popularity of the governing parties and the rise in support for the Czech Social Democratic Party, the coalition does not have much reason to panic yet. The ODS's voter base is stable and, thanks to Christian voters, the KDU-CSL is assured of a place in parliament. The occasional attack of nerves that sometimes drives the KDU-CSL toward unpremeditated and far too populist measures is thus all the more incomprehensible.

ODA is in a different situation; it awaits a struggle for its survival. It is worth noting that, in recent weeks, its deputy chairman, Vladimir Dlouhy, who has never suffered from any phobias about the strongest governing party, has been voicing more and more often ODA's fundamental political points of view. As it seems, following Kalvoda's convulsions with the Security and Information Service, the view is beginning to prevail even within the Alliance's leadership that the ODA cannot proceed toward its salvation along an overgrown twisting path beyond the coalition's highway.

It will be illuminating to monitor how the coalition copes in the fall with the issue of the Senate, the threat of strikes, and other stressful situations. That is to say, the ability of the governing politicians to preserve an elementary coalition comradeship until the last moment under the Damocles sword of the looming elections will provide very valuable information for the voters.

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President, Prime Minister Shake Hands

AU0407124095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 3 July on pages 1 and 3 carries an 800-word report by Juraj Alner, entitled "President and Prime Minister Shook Hands in Front of the Pope," on the separate talks held by President Michal Kovac and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar with Pope John Paul II in Bratislava on 1 July. Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 July, in the "Single Question" rubric on page 1, carries a 150-word interview with President Michal Kovac by "pv" entitled "May the Reconciliation Last." In the interview, which was conducted at Sastin, where Pope John Paul II celebrated a Mass on 1 July, Kovac expresses the hope that the pope's visit to Slovakia would mark the beginning of "reconciliation" and "peace" in Slovak society.

Juraj Alner notes in his NARODNA OBRODA report that, although President Kovac and Prime Minister Meciar arrived separately for their meeting with the pope, they met briefly before the pope's arrival in front of the Primatial Palace, the venue of their talks with the pontiff. Alner says: "The prime minister joined the president one minute after five at the gate of the Primatial Palace, they shook hands, and spoke together for four minutes, before the pope arrived at the square." No mention of the contents of the conversation is made.

Reporting on Kovac's talks with the pope, Alner mentions that the subjects of discussion included the domestic political situation in Slovakia: "They spoke also about the domestic political situation in Slovakia, in which the Holy Father took a lively interest. The president expressed the hope that, under the influence of this visit, civic reconciliation would be brought about in Slovakia and all political efforts would be imbued with morals and more political culture." Prime Minister Meciar, on the other hand, is quoted as having said that "there was no reason to speak about the domestic political situation in Slovakia" during his meeting with the pope.

The PRAVDA interview with President Kovac reads: "[PRAVDA] Mr. President, one can feel that the sociopolitical situation has quite calmed down in connection with John Paul II's visit to Slovakia. Do you expect the situation to last even after the pope returns to the Vatican?

"[Kovac] I would very much welcome this calming down and would strongly wish it to last for a long time, so that it is not just a tactical silence and so that the Holy Father's departure is not followed by new conflicts and unnecessary stress situations that traumatize and divide society. I would like the Holy Father's visit to serve as a long-lasting impulse for civic reconciliation and peace in society, so that room is established for creative work."

Schenk Discusses Application for EU Membership

AU0307140195 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 28 Jun 95 p 9

[Article by Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk: "Slovakia and the European Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We consider the submission by the Slovak Republic of an official application for membership in the European Union (EU) together with the memorandum explaining the reasons for the application that the Slovak delegation led by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar presented at the EU summit in Cannes a logical formal culmination of the process that began shortly after the inception of the independent Slovak Republic on 1 January 1993.

Concurrently, the submission of the application for EU membership is an expression of the determination of the Slovak Republic to become an active member of the democratic family of European nations that profess the same values.

The integration of the Slovak Republic into the EU is one of the top priorities of Slovak foreign policy, which is reflected not only in the Slovak Government policy statement, but also in the practical steps taken by the Slovak Republic in the process of coming close to the EU.

First of all, there was the signing of the European Treaty on the Association of the Slovak Republic to the EU, which came into effect on 1 February 1995. Within the framework of the Essen strategy for the preparation of the associated East and Central European countries for admission, the Slovak Republic, together with the other associated countries, took part in the preparation of the white book on the conditions for accessing the internal EU market and solving the problems of the law approximation process. The Slovak Republic participates in consultations between the EU and the associated countries at the ministerial level in the framework of structured dialogue.

On 29 May of this year, the historic first session of the Association Council took place in Brussels, and the Slovak Republic submitted the Strategy of the Slovak Republic for integration into the EU. The establishment of the mission of the European Commission in the Slovak Republic in Bratislava is of great importance for the development of cooperation between the Slovak Republic and the EU.

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Let us realize that the way to the EU is a gradual process, during which it will be necessary to pay special attention to the advancement of a legislative environment of the working domestic market compatible with the EU. We have already introduced various measures to this effect.

As an example of our activity, one could present the fact that the government has already adopted a list of priorities of the legal norms guaranteeing compatibility in the area of the domestic market. At present, individual government departments have begun to analyze their first experience with the process of implementation of the so-called white book, serving the associated Central and East European countries as preparation for the integration into the Union's internal market. The complex stand of the Slovak Government regarding the contents of the white book, which was officially approved at the European Council summit in Cannes, will be completed by the end of September.

The Slovak Republic would welcome it if new closer ties were established between the associated countries within the framework of all three pillars of the Maastricht Treaty—i.e., common market, common foreign and security policies, justice, and internal affairs, as well as the involvement of the associated countries into the projects of the trans-European networks—already now, within the framework of the preparation for joining the EU.

Concurrently with dynamizing the contacts with the EU within the framework of the so-called structured dialogue, the Slovak Republic paid the necessary attention to building the institutional framework of mutual cooperation.

For this purpose, the Slovak Government established the Government Council for the Integration of the Slovak Republic Into the EU as its consultation and coordination body, supervising the realization of the tasks resulting from the implementation of the European treaty. Concurrently, European integration sections began to emerge in the individual departments and other central bodies of state administration.

We are aware of the submission of the official application not being a real start to specific talks with the EU regarding the admission of the Slovak Republic as a full member. We are realists and do not believe that the internal discussions within the EU have already reached the point at which the member countries would be ready to adopt specific decisions regarding the time schedule and other details of the EU expansion by the Central and East European countries.

Nevertheless, we believe that, if the trustworthiness of the political statements declared at the Copenhagen summit is to be preserved, the process of expansion of the EU by the associated Central and East European countries cannot be delayed inappropriately.

In this regard, we expect that the course and results of the EU Intergovernment Conference in 1996, which will make numerous significant decisions preparing the Union for its future expansion in an eastward (Central and East European countries and the Baltic region) and southward (Mediterranean countries) direction, will be of key importance from the point of view of the decision on the time schedule for the admission of the associated countries into the EU. As a future EU member country, the Slovak Republic would like to get involved in the preparation and the course of the intergovernment conference. The Slovak Republic is convinced that its participation in the preparatory stage of the aforementioned conference will not be just an enhancement of the discussions but, rather, a contribution to the facilitation of the process of the future admission of the Slovak Republic into the EU.

We expect that the specific talks on the admission of the Slovak Republic and other associated Central and East European countries to the EU could begin shortly after the conclusion of the EU Intergovernment Conference. The hitherto development of relations with the EU and the favorable development of the Slovak economy give us the right to expect that the Slovak Republic will be one of the first EU members among the associated Central and East European countries and within in the time horizon of approximately the year 2000.

NSSR Official Reports on CE Assembly Meeting

AU0407115395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jul 95 p 2

[TASR report: "Conditions for the Hungarian Minority Exceed the Standard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Foreign Affairs Committee, who headed the Slovak delegation to the Council of Europe [CE] Parliamentary Assembly meeting held in Strasbourg from 26 to 30 June, said, following his return, that the admission of Moldova and Albania were among the most significant results of the session. Along with Slobodnik, the meeting was attended by Deputies Irena Belohorska (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia), Lubomir Fogas (Party of the Democratic Left), and Jan Figel (Christian Democratic Movement). During a debate on the issues of xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, and intolerance, two Hungarian deputies representing the Hungar-

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ian parliamentary opposition, Geza Jeszensky and Zsolt Nemeth, attacked Slovakia and Romania. Their reservations about Slovakia concerned mainly the [planned] adoption of the law on the state language. In response to those attacks, Slobodnik and Lubomir Fogas addressed the CE Parliamentary Assembly and refuted the Hungarian deputies' allegations. They pointed out that Slovakia has already fulfilled much of the CE Recommendation No. 1201, so that the conditions of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia for preserving its national and cultural identity are such that they greatly exceed the international standard. At the same time, they drew attention to the violation of the Hungarian law, under which every ethnic minority should be represented in the Hungarian Parliament. Slobodnik and Fogas characterized the Hungarian deputies' statements as interference in the internal affairs of another state. Slobodnik stated that members of the CE Parliamentary Assembly had received the Slovak deputies' addresses with understanding.

Protests Continue About 'Alternative Education'

AU0307134695 Bratislava SME in Slovak 30 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "(lsz, so)": "The Parents Are Also Prepared To Continue Their Protests by Not Sending Their Children to School in September"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Samorin/Galanta/Filakovo—[Passage omitted] The parents from Samorin who took part in the protest meeting yesterday evening against the method of implementing alternative education and the dismissal of school principals claim that the formation of alternative classes is organizationally impossible and financially demanding, and that the resources should be used to improve the quality of education at both Hungarian and Slovak schools. The participants concurred in the demand that M. Pius be dismissed from his post as director of the Bratislava VII School Administration. [passage omitted]

Similar parents' meetings were organized in Dunajska Streda, Sturovo, Sahy, Velky Meder, Filakovo, Roznava, Kralovsky Chlmec, Tornala, and Galanta, where the students in the first three grades of the secondary school did not pick up their report cards. We have found out that, following the dismissal of the principal of Galanta Secondary School, the establishment of a joint directorate for the—until now—separately administered Slovak and Hungarian-language secondary schools is also being planned.

According to the chairman of the Union of Hungarian Teachers in Slovakia, Zoltan Sido, the refusal to pick up the report cards can be regarded as civil disobedience. Upon the failure of the protest meetings, the parents are also prepared to continue their protests in September, including refusing to send their children to school. [passage omitted]

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 30 June on page 2, under the headline "The Education Ministry's Point of View," carries the following 200-word TASR report: "The Education Ministry [MS SR] emphasizes again that a voluntary decision on the part of parents forms the basic principle for the eventual introduction of alternative education in the ethnically mixed territory of the Slovak Republic. In a statement, which, in this context, was handed to TASR yesterday by MS SR Press Secretary J. Felix, the ministry protests against the disinformation from some representatives of the Hungarian political parties in Slovakia. They interpret alternative education as hampering the integrity and rights of the ethnic minorities in Slovakia. The MS SR points out that the appeals for protest meetings and the displays of civil disobedience in schools, which disrupt the education process, will be considered in accordance with the valid legal regulations and norms. At the same time, it proclaims that it has information that some representatives of the Hungarian political parties in Slovakia are exerting direct political pressure on parents in connection with the offer of alternative education."]

Council Agrees With 'Alternative Education'

AU0307150395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 30 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "(dos)": "The Government Council for Ethnic Minorities Has Expressed Its Agreement With Alternative Education"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Yesterday's meeting of the Government Council for Ethnic Minorities was devoted to discussing the demands that arose from the protest rally held in Komarno in April. Experts invited by the government and the organizers of the rally took part in the meeting. According to J. Kalman, the Council's chairman and a deputy prime minister, the meeting was held primarily to discuss the issues of culture and education. A minor incident preceded the closing press briefing. The government's representatives at first refused to allow the political scientist M. Kusy, who was present at the meeting as a CSEMADOK [Cultural Society of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia] expert, to take part in it alongside the two representatives from the Hungarian organizations. Later, Kalman's press secretary, E. Jonakova, introduced the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement's deputy as Julius Bardos. When he protested that he is called Gyula Bardos, she commented that Gyula is Julius in Slovak. According to Kalman, the Council agreed on the need to adopt

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a law on minority cultural associations. It recommended that the education minister convene a consultative meeting on alternative education involving the minorities' representatives and that she steer the school administrations toward suitable methods for introducing alternative education. The Council recommended that the culture minister reappraise the system of and structure for his advisory bodies pertaining to the ethnic minorities. The Council also expressed its agreement with the introduction of alternative education on the basis of voluntariness. According to M. Kusy, however, the conclusions that the Council reached do not amount to an agreement between the Council and the minorities' representatives but are merely the conclusions of the Council itself, with which the minorities' representatives disagree. The chairman of the Union of Hungarian Teachers, Z. Sido, said that the protests against alternative education are an expression of disagreement with its undemocratic nature. He emphasized that the initiative for its introduction came not from the Hungarian minority but from the Slovak National Party and the Matica Slovenska [Slovak Heritage Foundation]. J. Kalman pointed out that the introduction of alternative education is an element of the government's policy statement, which was approved by parliament. He described yesterday's meeting as compliance with the demand to discuss the conclusions of the Komarno assembly. On the other hand, G. Bardos expressed his dissatisfaction with the course and outcome of yesterday's Council meeting. E. Jonakova interrupted the Hungarian minority's representatives several times and asked them to be more to the point.

SNS Calls for Punishment of Protest Organizers

AU0307151395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 1 Jul 95 p 3

[CTK report: "The Slovak National Party Demands Strict Punishment of Organizers of Civic Rallies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Anna Malikova, deputy chairwoman of the Slovak National Party [SNS], regards the fact that Slovak Television management did not permit the broadcast of President Michal Kovac's address on the eve of the arrival of Pope John Paul II as an expression of the public broadcaster's "truly apolitical nature." At the same time, Anna Malikova voiced "surprise" at the fact that Slovak Radio did broadcast the address. The SNS deputy chairwoman sharply condemned the 29 June demonstrations of "civil disobedience" in southern Slovakia, at which the Hungarian ethnic minority protested, on the last day of the school year, against the introduction of alternative education. The SNS representative said that the introduction of alternative education was part of the government's manifesto. Anna Malikova pointed out that her party would emphatically demand the investigation of the unrest and strict punishment of its initiators. Asked why the material on the concept of "alternative education" is not yet available and why even Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar is not familiar with it, Malikova replied that the entire project was within the jurisdiction of Education Minister Eva Slavkovska, who would inform the school management about everything in detail.

Commentary on Rallies

AU0307192595 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 95 p 4

[Commentary by Frantisek Buda: "Not Threats but Dialogue"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the protests at Hungarian-language schools in southern Slovakia toward the end of the school year, people with lesser interest in the issue must have asked themselves: Why do Hungarians in Slovakia not want their children to learn Slovak? This formulation does not do justice to the problem in its entire complexity, however. Hungarian parents realize—some of them because they are guided by realism, the more sensitive among them with bitterness—that state borders will not be changed and that, therefore, their offspring will be able to realize themselves only in Slovakia and only if they speak Slovak, whether they like the language or not. There is nowhere to retreat.

The issue is not whether to teach Slovak or not, but how to teach it. The Hungarian parents' reply is unequivocal and spontaneous—as effectively as possible, just not by the alternative method, which, in their opinion, would mean the beginning of the end of their system of ethnic schools and the gradual assimilation of a great part of their ethnic community. They cite as a warning example the "alternative abolition" of the few Slovak schools that had survived in Hungary until the sixties. Today, there exist virtually no Slovak schools in the country of our southern neighbors. Where there are no Slovak schools, there also are not any Slovak students and, naturally, no future pillars of national identity.

Hungarians in Slovakia are intensely defending their system of schools, doing, in fact, what Slovaks had been doing at times of the worst Magyarization, only with greater vehemency and better organization. And what is our Ministry of Education doing? Its captains keep repeating that alternative education is on a voluntary basis, but, at the same time, they are dismissing school principals who consider alternative education unacceptable. It is as if they sought revenge, by means of these and similar obstructions, against all of the wrongs

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done to Slovaks many decades ago. Have they perhaps forgotten that, at the threshold of the third millennium, we live under completely different political and social conditions and that most present-day Hungarians cannot be identified with Apponyi [19th century Hungarian politician responsible for closure of Slovak schools] and similar Hungarian irredentists?

The [ethnic Hungarian] parents' resistance to alternative education is so united that a school will scarcely be found ready to introduce it. This gives rise to concern that this project, the consequences of which evidently have not been thought to the end, will produce a completely different effect than its authors had intended. Some parents of Hungarian nationality who have until now been enrolling their offspring in Slovak schools—which is the case of 30 percent of them on the national scale—will apparently transfer them to Hungarian-language schools out of solidarity, and the Slovak nationalists will thus have scored a goal against themselves. Moreover, in an atmosphere of passions running high, in which members of the ethnic minority are forced to assemble in public squares, Hungarian students can hardly be expected to show greater interest in Slovak as a subject and as a language. And this is bad because this society's aim is that students of Hungarian nationality should study Slovak with the appropriate respect as their second mother tongue.

Finally, we should not forget the most important thing: All of the protest actions so far have taken a calm course and did not disrupt normal coexistence between Slovaks and Hungarians. However, the protesters do not conceal that, in the event of nonfulfillment of their demands, they have sharper forms of civil disobedience up their sleeves. Who will bear responsibility before our young republic and before the world should this resistance result in local skirmishes and, God forbid, hidden or overt acts of violence? Threats and expressions of smugness and intolerance are therefore out of place. What we badly need for the situation to calm down is businesslike and sober dialogue.

Discord Over New Teachers in Hungarian Schools

LD0307183595 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] New head teachers have already been appointed to the posts of those who were dismissed from Hungarian secondary schools in Slovakia. Our Bratislava correspondent, Ildiko Nagy, gives the details:

[Nagy] Despite mass demonstrations held last week, the appointment of new head teachers to replace those dismissed from Hungarian secondary schools started today. According to the law passed in spring, head teachers are not elected by a body of teachers and parents but are appointed by the school administration officer, Miroslav Pius. Taking the opportunity provided by the law, Miroslav Pius acted in Somorja [Samorin] and Galanta today.

One of the dismissed head teachers in Samorin has been replaced by a Slovak, though only for a month, the school administration officer promised the board of teachers of the school, saying that the post will be advertised this week. Laszlo Kovacs, the school's former headmaster, also intends to apply for the job.

All of the teachers of the secondary school in Galanta have protested against their new head teacher. They have announced that if the school administration officer does not withdraw the new head teacher's appointment, all 30 of them will resign and leave the school.

2 More Teachers Being Sacked

LD0407202995 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After the dismissal last week of four Hungarian grammar school headmasters in Slovakia, two more were given their notice by the education authorities. According to the Hungarian teachers, this marks the beginning of a general purge.

[Correspondent Alfred Somogyi] The protest actions and demonstrations at the end-of-year assemblies were only local initiatives, said Zoltan Sido, head of the Federation of Hungarian Teachers in Slovakia. He thinks that further dismissals are possible this summer. Therefore, the federation is not giving up its resolution adopted at the Revkomarom [Komarno] rally on 22 April and will not call off the national preparation for civil disobedience.

Sido said that the Hungarians in Felvidek [southern Slovakia] respect the Slovak laws. However, they do not accept the government's moral pressure. The teachers federation has prepared itself for nationwide actions to give warnings to the government. It would be too early and against their interests to reveal anything about the forms of civil disobedience, Sido told [Duna TV program] "Newsreel." However, he added that, despite the summer holiday, the federation will be observing the developments, and members will be constantly on call to enable the federation to react if necessary.

The statements of the Hungarian politicians in Slovakia were in a similar vein. They alleged earlier that the Cultural Ministry scheduled its steps against the Hungarian schools for summer.

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Government Considers New 'Austerity' Package

AU0407133195 Paris AFP in English 1319 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Budapest, July 4 (AFP)—The Hungarian Government is considering new austerity measures, including a stiff import surcharge on energy, finance ministry sources said Tuesday [4 July]. [passage omitted]

The new plans, which were not confirmed officially, aim to claw back savings planned for in the earlier package, estimated to have been worth some $320 million a year.

The officials, who did not want to be named, said the planned new measures included an 8-percent customs surcharge on imports of electrical energy, oil and [natural] gas.

The government might also decide to withold a unified 3 percent of all budgetary expenses allocated for this year, and also abolish tax breaks for various categories of intellectuals, the officials said.

The moves being planned would not require parliamentary approval. [passage omitted]

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UN Spokesman: Serbs Attacking Convoys

AU0407123495 Paris AFP in English
1221 GMT 4 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 4 (AFP)—In a desperate bid to bring aid into besieged Sarajevo UN peacekeepers have begun mounting dangerous night missions along a treacherous mountain road that was attacked by Bosnian Serb gunners on Monday [4 July].

Wearing night vision goggles, the French and Dutch peacekeepers drove down the Mount Igman road just outside Sarajevo under cover of darkness to deliver some 70 tonnes [metric tons] of flour to the city on Monday evening.

But the seven truck convoy escorted by six armoured vehicles came under fire as they began their risky descent. Bosnian Serb guns positioned in the valley below unleashed a volley of cannon rounds at the vehicles damaging two of them and injuring two French UN soldiers, one seriously.

One of the men, Captain Samuel Daumas was the convoy leader. "We got hit in the front when a 30-mm cannon round exploded just in ahead of the truck. I was not injured by the shrapnel but we lost control of the vehicle and I was injured in the accident," said Daumas showing his bandaged arm.

Like the other drivers Daumas was in an unprotected "soft-skin" truck. The windscreen was shot out of his white painted lorry and its tyres shredded.

"The convoy was re-organised and two 90-mm rounds from light Sagaie tanks together with one heavy mortar round were fired at the Serb gun positions," Lieutenant Colonel Gary Coward, a UN spokesman said.

French peacekeepers on top of Mount Igman then fired four smoke rounds to mask the final descent of the trucks. The whole operation took two hours, Coward said.

Peacekeepers said the UN response was "proportionate" and in response to direct targetting by the Bosnian Serbs. They deny the action contradicts their current orders not to inflame the delicate situation in Bosnia where fighting has erupted in many places across the country.

The response of the French "would be considered proportional and not with the view of escalating the situation. They responded to a specific situation in which a convoy was being attacked," Leah Melnick, a UN spokeswoman at the mission's Zagreb headquarters, said.

Monday's attack was only one of a series in recent days. Coward refuted denials issued on Monday by the Bosnian Serbs that they had not targeted UN vehicles. "In these instances, we have no doubt whatsoever who is firing the gun. It is the Bosnian Serbs," Coward said.

Under their rules of engagement UN peacekeepers are permitted to use force in self defense. "If you afraid to defend yourself when you are attacked you are in the impossible situation where you are unable to function," Melnick said.

French UN spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Gerard Dubois said Monday's convoy was the second to have crept over the mountain at night and more were planned. "Yes, it is a dangerous mission but this (whole UN) mission from the very beginning is very dangerous. This is just another mission. It is very dangerous but this is nothing new," he said.

An earlier plan to make the Igman route secure, put forward by the commander of UN forces in Bosnia Lieutenant General Rupert Smith, was overruled by UN chiefs in Zagreb as too provocative.

"The mission is testing different ways of getting aid into the city. When the assessment is that it has become too dangerous to use this (method), it will cease to be an option," Melnick said.

UNPROFOR Protests Serb Attacks

AU0307122095 Paris AFP in English
1207 GMT 3 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 3 (AFP)—UN peacekeepers responded to an attack by Bosnian Serbs Monday firing a heavy mortar at a gun position but insisted on avoiding an escalation of the deteriorating situation in Bosnia amid diplomatic efforts to resume the peace process.

French Legionnaires fired their heavy mortars for the second time in two days after Serb forces loosed off several cannon rounds at a UN convoy using the Mount Igman route, the only road in and out of the Serb-besieged city. [passage omitted]

There is unlikely to be any response however to Sunday's mortar bomb attack on the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN commander in Bosnia, UN officials said. [passage omitted]

Lieutenant Colonel Gary Coward, a UN military spokesman, said the United Nations had not identified the firing point of the mortars and was unwilling to

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blame either the Bosnian Serbs or the Bosnian Army, both of whom have mortars in the area.

However, one senior UN figure said: "We think it (the attack on the UN headquarters) was in response to Igman."

"If we were able to say where the round came from—we all have our suspicions—but as we cannot identify where that round came from we cannot level the strongest possible protest to one individual party. We need proof," Coward said.

This kind of protest though, is likely to be no more than the stern letters of protest that have been sent to the Bosnian Serbs on many previous occasions.

One such letter was sent to the Bosnian Serbs Monday to protest against the series of attack on UN vehicles using the Igman route. Another was sent on Saturday calling for the Serbs to stop their shelling of the city. [passage omitted]

"Our main measure is not to inflame the situation, to respond in a measured way to any provocation and not to take action which is perceived to be provocative or inflamatory," Coward explained.

He said the objective was to keep the lid on the fighting as much as possible while diplomatic efforts continue to find a solution. [passage omitted]

Serbs Deny Shelling UNPROFOR

LD0307161095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Regarding the latest UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] accusations that the [Bosnian] Serb side had continued to shell civilian targets, the General Staff of the Army of the Serb republic today said that Serb army units had not shelled either civilian targets nor UNPROFOR forces on the Sarajevo front.

The statement issued by the Serb army General Staff Information Service stresses that Dutch General Kes Nikolai, the deputy UNPROFOR commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, made unsubstantiated accusations against the Serb side saying that it shelled civilian targets and UNPROFOR forces, although Muslim forces have been attacking Serb army units and peacekeeping forces around Sarajevo.

The Serb army General Staff says that this once more shows the willful behavior of low-ranking UNPROFOR commanders, who are acting outside the framework of the agreement reached by General Ratko Mladic and Bertrand Janivier, the UNPROFOR commander for former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Generals Mladic and Janivier met in Zvornik on 29 June, when the Serb army commander underlined a demand for impartial UNPROFOR conduct. This applies to press spokesmen and junior commanders who are asked to stop making unsubstantiated accusations against the Serb army.

According to General Mladic, the Serb army is not carrying out any combat operations against UNPROFOR. They are not threatened by the Serbs either. "Only in the event of further armed attacks by UNPROFOR and NATO on Serb units and villages will there be an all-out response," the Serb army General Staff say.

Due to its heavy losses and the failure to break through the Serb lines the Muslim side continues to permanently fire its artillery on not only military targets, but civilian facilities, too. These activities have caused a large number of civilian casualties, mostly children, women, and old people, the Serb army General Staff stress.

In recent days, Muslim forces have continued to direct heavy artillery and mortar fire from the occupied part of Sarajevo at Serb locations. Their artillery pieces are stationed in the immediate vicinity of UNPROFOR locations so they are simultaneously using it as a shield and as a target.

The Information Service of the Serb army General Staff lists such cases: Fire directed at the UNPROFOR restaurant near the PTT building in Sarajevo, laying an antitank mine on a road where a UN vehicles was passing, other facilities have also been targeted. Instead of accusing the Muslims of these actions, General Nikolai accused the Serb side, the statement says.

Serbs Warn UN Against 'Further Attacks'

AU0507133395 Banja Luka Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 July 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In reaction to the latest accusations of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] that the Serb side continued to shell civilian targets, the Serb Republic Army general staff stated today that Serb Republic Army units on the Sarajevo front shelled neither civilian targets nor UNPROFOR.

The statement issued by the information service of the Serb Republic Army general staff emphasizes that Dutch General (Kess Nikolai), deputy commander of UNPROFOR for former Bosnia-Herzegovina, unfoundedly accused the Serb side of targeting residential areas and UNPROFOR, although it is the Muslims who are attacking units of the Serb Republic Army and peace forces stationed in the Sarajevo area. The Serb Republic Army general staff contends that this is yet another sign of the willfulness of UNPROFOR's low-ranking

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officers, whose behavior is in violation of the agreement between General Ratko Mladic and Gen. Bertrand Janvier, UNPROFOR commander for former Yugoslavia. Generals Mladic and Janvier met in Zvornik on 29 June, when the Serb Republic Army commander demanded that UNPROFOR start behaving in an unbiased manner. That refers to spokesmen and to low-ranking officers who are being asked to stop making unfounded accusations against the Serb Republic Army.

According to the words of Gen. Mladic, the combat activity of the Serb Republic Army is not aimed against UNPROFOR nor are they in any danger from the Serbs. Only if further attacks are launched by UNPROFOR and NATO against Serb units and residential areas, the Serbs will respond using all available means, stated the Serb Republic Army general staff.

Karadzic on Possible Counteroffensive

LD0407154095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zvornik, 4 Jul (SRNA)—In Zvornik today, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia], welcomed the decision of Carl Bildt, the new EU mediator in the former Yugoslavia, to hold a meeting with the leaders of the Serb Republic soon.

"We welcome the determination of the new conference to treat us on an equal basis because this is one of the preconditions for the achievement of any progress in the negotiations," President Karadzic told SRNA after a meeting of the municipal committee of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands, in the work of which he was participating.

Asked whether the Serb Republic Army is preparing a possible counteroffensive, in view of the fact that the Muslim offensive is continuing with undiminished ferocity and that the Croatian Army is massing its troops along the border with the Republic of Serb Krajina, President Karadzic replied:

"We are preparing ourselves for defense; we are refraining from a counteroffensive lest we ruin the prospects for the success of the new conference. But if the offensive continues, we will switch from passive to active defense and even launch a counteroffensive."

"We cannot accept breaks in the fighting which are advantageous to the Muslims and which allow them to regroup and rearm," the president of the Serb Republic said. He added: "We can enter into negotiations but during this time the Army will do its job and do everything to force the adversary to accept a political solution."

Serbs' Position Seen 'Stronger Than Ever'

AU0307170195 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 24-25 Jun 95 p 1

[Commentary by Jovan Zametica: "An Introduction to the End"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Serb Republic's international position is today stronger than ever. All of the outside world's attempts and plans to crush our sovereignty under the pretext of establishing some kind of Serbian entity within Bosnia-Herzegovina have failed because we were adamant about not compromising on the issue. A state guarantees our survival, safety, and our comprehensive development. Each new peace plan proposed by the international community offered us slightly more in terms of acknowledging the reality on the ground, but not enough to satisfy our legitimate rights and interests, not to mention the fact that the Serbs are the victors in this bloody war. This is primarily—but not exclusively—so because of the monstrous error—committed at the very beginning—of recognizing a phantom state. Since then, all of the international community's efforts have been aimed at somehow correcting this error, yet without formally admitting to it. That is why each peace plan is based on territorial division, but within the internationally recognized Bosnia. What, then, is the basis for the statement that our international position is stronger then ever?

First of all because it has finally become clear that the Serb Republic is absolutely unavoidable as a factor for resolving the crisis. Moreover, they have already done everything to avoid it: from arming the Muslims and Croats to encouraging official Belgrade to impose a blockade on the Drina River. Let us go back a little: Until recently, the phrase "isolation of Bosnian Serbs" rang out in the corridors of power in the West and in all international media. Suddenly, this is no longer so. Suddenly, the international community's distinguished gentlemen—various mediators and diplomats—are announcing meetings with the Serb Republic leadership. Even the unfortunate Vitaliy Churkin mustered the strength to once again show up in Pale. The situation, therefore, is new, and in terms of quality better than in the February to May period when a combination of ostracism and pressure failed to impress us.

The United Nations and NATO made a cardinal error when they bombed Pale. This move was not only a criminal one—since we really did not provoke it—it was also stupid; although everyone—from General Smith onwards—had been forewarned as to what we would be forced to do if it came to bombing, it was nevertheless decided that such drastic measures should be taken against the Serb Republic. I was personally

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a witness when Gen. Smith was warned. The essence of our response not only shook the world, it also send a message that the world understood. It became clear that the Serbs would no longer tolerate the extremely unrealistic situation in which the United Nations is allegedly neutral on land and a foe in the air.

Then it was the Muslims' turn to take the fatal step. Wrongly interpreting the world's "rage" at the Serbs' capture of UN personnel and encouraged by the formation of the Rapid Reaction Force, they launched a large-scale offensive in the Sarajevo region. Hiding like cowards behind the Sarajevo "exclusion zone," they launched a military and propaganda offensive in the hope that the escalation of the conflict around the city that is the focus of world media attention would ultimately draw NATO into fighting a war against the Serbs, a war they cannot win on their own. However, like perhaps never before, the Muslims have once again been taught a bloody lesson in warfare. The spectacular failure of their offensive is probably an introduction to the end of the entire conflict. It is now probably a matter of days until the convening of a new peace conference. It is not true that the Serbs have no powerful friends in the world. These friends have made use of this favorable moment and have signaled that it is time to put an end to all of the international community's stupidity regarding the diplomatic management of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, we need to be careful and patient. It is not easy for the world to admit to its blunders, and it will not be easy for the Muslims to negotiate the abandonment of their substantial demands. Perhaps the new peace conference will fall through, maybe it will never be convened. But the trend is perfectly obvious: The international community's treatment of the facts on the ground is consistently closer precisely to the facts themselves.

Janvier Warns UN Against Deeper Involvement

AU0307174095 Paris AFP in English 1718 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, July 3 (AFP)—The commander of the UN peacekeeping mission in former Yugoslavia warned Monday [3 July] against UN forces getting sucked further into the Bosnian war despite the escalation of violence on the ground.

General Bernard Janvier said the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), which has been the target of several sniper and cannon attacks in recent days, should resist the temptation to retaliate.

"We must see to it that we don't accelerate a process which could degenerate very quickly," Janvier said. "Let's be realistic."

Janvier's warning came hours after UN peacekeepers responded to an attack by Bosnian Serbs by firing a heavy mortar at a gun position after Serb forces loosed off several cannon rounds at a UN convoy.

Sunday a mortar bomb attack targetted the Sarajevo headquarters of the UN commander in Bosnia.

Janvier said the bombing had been interpreted as a "response" to French peacekeepers' attack on Serb positions, but he said it would be disproportionate and inappropriate to retaliate again with NATO air raids.

Janvier also said he had met again with Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic to discuss the deteriorating situation.

"The Serbs have to stop firing on civilians and our units," Janvier said. "These are the things I discussed with him (Mladic)."

Official Confident of Liberating Sarajevo

AU0307192195 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 95 p 6

[Interview with Vladimir Soljic, "defense minister and deputy prime minister" of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by Jozo Pavkovic; place and date not given: "Into Sarajevo by Hook or by Crook"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Successes on the Livanj, Kupres, Glamoc, Grahovo, and other fronts; the firm defense of Posavina, Usora, and Zepce; and good cooperation with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army testify to the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] increasing strength. The successes abruptly changed the Bosnia-Herzegovina war situation. That is why we asked the defense minister and deputy prime minister of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia whether these are the reasons why the Croats and Bosnians have decided to embark on liberating Bosnia-Herzegovina by themselves, with their own forces.

[Soljic] The fact that the Serbs have occupied a great part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the Croats and Muslims are the majority population, and the fact that they will certainly not volunteer to return the territory has prompted the Croatian and Muslim peoples' leaderships to draft plans for the military liberation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is obvious that the cessation of hostilities between the Croats and Muslims has turned the war around to the advantage of the allies, and it is absolutely certain that the joined forces of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are now stronger than those of the "Serb republic." The Croatian side agreed at the highest level to participate in lifting the Sarajevo siege, at the same time demanding a precise division of

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duties and clear decisions regarding the result in order to achieve maximum effect and to dispel any doubts and speculation in advance.

The Enemy Has Been Shaken

[Pavkovic] How is the operation progressing, and can we say that what has been done so far has been a success?

[Soljic] There are various, conflicting opinions on this. This is a large-scale and complex operation, and I believe that we cannot base a final judgment on the success or failure of the liberation of Sarajevo on the current situation on the ground, that is, on the relatively minor changes. Personally I believe that our coordinated action has engaged and shaken the aggressor's substantial forces, and that is success. Moreover, the operation will go on until we lift the Sarajevo siege. By hook or by crook. That is our obligation to the citizens of the encircled city. I have to add that it is shameful of the international community to have legalized a situation in which citizens live below the level deserving of humanity in a city that has been under siege longer than any other city in history.

[Pavkovic] In spite of this, is there speculation regarding the HVO's participation?

[Soljic] Such rumors have been launched by the Serb aggressor side, its domestic and foreign agencies, smugglers, and criminals of all sorts. We should not hide that fact that the motives and interests of individuals in Kiseljak or Visoko, even in Sarajevo, do not always coincide with the interests of citizens in Sarajevo and those who are building the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Pavkovic] Do the HVO's and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's interests coincide with the arrival of the Rapid Reaction Force? What is actually their role?

[Soljic] As far as I know, neither the role nor the financing of these forces have been defined. The Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia's Defense Ministry does not create, but rather implements a set policy, which means that we shall do everything that the Croatian people's leadership asks us to do. My personal stance regarding these forces does not differ from the conclusions reached by the Government and House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

There is not a single country that would welcome the presence of armed forces without having consented to their deployment. I say this particularly because these forces are not being deployed equally in areas on the Serbian or Muslim side. I believe that these forces—if they should stay in areas under HVO control, even in areas under Bosnia-Herzegovina Army control—will only protect the aggressor, that is, will help it to hold on to the occupied areas because it no longer has the strength to maintain the occupation. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 6]

The Policy Is Not Changing

[Pavkovic] What is happening with the Joint Command?

[Soljic] Its role has not changed. It still has no commanding function; however, thanks to its success regarding the maintenance of peace after the cessation of hostilities between Croats and Muslims, it now successfully coordinates HVO and Bosnia-Herzegovina Army operations. There have been personnel changes in the Joint Command. General Ante Roso was replaced by General Zivko Budimir, who has in turn been replaced by General Filip Filipovic. These are simply personnel changes, but the policy has not changed, nor will it change.

The generals at the helm of the Croatian command have gone on to new, high, and very responsible positions.

[Box, p 6]

The HVO Is Becoming Stronger Daily

[Pavkovic] On what do you actually base your optimism?

[Soljic] I do not wish to sound as if I were boasting, but I am glad that I was right when I claimed that following reorganization, the HVO would be smaller, but significantly stronger. That is precisely how it has turned out. Our Army has since known only victory, from Kupres, Livno, Glamoc, and Grahovo, to a comparable success—the defense of Posavina. Our Army will become stronger and better equipped daily, because we have increased our production capacity. We can now mass produce very sophisticated weaponry, including rocket systems.

Commander: RRF To Be Ready by End of Week

AU0507085395 Paris AFP in English 0823 GMT 5 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, July 5 (AFP)—The Franco-British-led rapid reaction force will be ready for action in Bosnia by the end of this week, French Army chief Admiral Jacques Lanxade said Wednesday.

He said problems with deployment—notably apparent Bosnian Government opposition to the forces being deployed—seemed to have been overcome in the last few days.

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"We had a few difficulties. Now these difficulties seem to have been resolved, so I think there are no more obstacles to the implementation of this force if necessary," he said on French radio.

He said the force was "ready to intervene from the end of this week, if it is necessary... The situation is now clear, and the Sarajevo government's prime minister has said clearly that the force is welcome," he added.

There had been problems in recent days with the deployment of a French contingent in Bosnia and a British contingent in Croatia.

The reaction force was agreed by NATO defence ministers meeting in Paris last month. It comprises up to 10,000 mostly French and British troops, with a small contingent of Dutch forces.

It is aimed at boosting protection for UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) troops already on the ground.

Lanxade clarified the aim of the force, saying it would "on the one hand contribute to the safety of the whole of the UNPROFOR, but above all to allow UNPROFOR to fulfill its mission and to open, if necessary, a route through to Sarajevo."

The question of punching through a corridor to the Bosnian capital has moved up the political agenda in recent weeks amid increasing Bosnian Serb attacks on the only road in, over Mount Igman, and targetting of UN forces themselves.

"We have to allow time for diplomacy to take place, but if in the coming days there is no movement on access to Sarajevo, it is absolutely clear that we will have to act to re-establish more normal living conditions for the inhabitants of the capital."

He said this would involve "ensuring that convoys arrive normally, either across Serb-held territory, or along the Mount Igman road."

On Tuesday the French Army chief confirmed in an address to the French Institute of International Relations that Bosnian authorities were blocking the deployment of French rapid reaction forces to the west of Sarajevo.

Bozic Lists Conditions for Rapid Reaction Force

LD0407140895 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The clear definition of the rapid reaction force's mandate was the subject of a news conference at the seat of government of Herzeg-Bosnia which was addressed by Slobodan Bozic, head of the office for relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Ivan Krizdic reports:

[Krizdic] Until General Bernard Janvier, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces, replies to the letter of President Kresimir Zubak and until it is made clear what the mandate of the rapid reaction force is, what size it will be and what equipment it will have, where it will be deployed and how long it is to remain, we will not allow these forces to enter the territory of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, Slobodan Bozic stressed at today's news conference in Mostar. Slobodan Bozic, the head of the government's office for relations with UNPROFOR, also recalled the conclusions of the Herzeg-Bosnia Chamber of Deputies which call for the clear definition of the mandate of the rapid reaction force whether they are to be deployed on the territory of Herzeg-Bosnia or the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bozic also noted that the British units arrived and deployed in the Tomislavgrad municipality before Resolution 998 was adopted in the Security Council. Only when this resolution was adopted was their arrival legalized. On the basis of this fact a clear definition of the mandate and period of deployment of these forces is obviously necessary, Slobodan Bozic said.

Zubak Comments on RRF, Future of Bosnia

AU0407125195 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Jul 95 p 3

[Interview with Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Erich Rathfelder; place and date not given: "30-Day Deadline for UN's Rapid Reaction Force in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rathfelder] The so-called Rapid Reaction Force, whose first contingent arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina on 5 June, should provide better protection to the UN Forces there—at least this was the first argument for the mission. As president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, you have now not only voiced your reservations but even formulated a deadline for these forces. What are your reservations?

[Zubak] There are many unclear points. So far we have not been informed by the responsible UN officials about the assignment of the "Rapid Reaction Force" or its command structure. Nor have we been asked for permission for the installation of these forces.

Parts of the British reaction force, for example, have been transferred to a place near Tomislavgrad. British General Pringle, however, only asked for permission to hold an exercise there of the regular UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Upon our request, we eventually received a letter from General Smith, the UNPROFOR commander in Sarajevo. The local population was upset

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after the British groups devastated the countryside and the fields in the Tomislavgrad area. Then, all of a sudden, French units appeared. We had to do something. So we fixed a deadline of 30 days for the "Rapid Reaction Force" members who arrived there. By 29 July, the assignment of these forces must be entirely clarified; otherwise, they will have to withdraw again.

[Rathfelder] Thousands of French soldiers are sitting in the Croatian port city of Ploce and thousands more have arrived in Tomislavgrad, in western Herzegovina. British groups will also be transferred there. How should your ruling be implemented?

[Zubak] The forces that recently arrived in Croatia have to stay in Croatia and will not reach our territory. The 30-day regulation applies to the forces already here.

[Rathfelder] Now they have also been joined by German forces.

[Zubak] So far they have not sent any ground forces, but they are obviously being used differently. In this case we also have to examine their assignment, their tasks. That is the only question on our side.

[Rathfelder] In your opinion, what could the assignment of this "Rapid Reaction Force" be?

[Zubak] I have nothing to say in this connection because I do not know. I do not even know where they are to be stationed. Yet, let me emphasize once more: All UNPROFOR Forces and all humanitarian organizations have full freedom of movement on our territory. Here the United Nations does not need any reinforcement. Why do they not go where they are really needed, why do they not go to Srebrenica, Gorazde, or Sarajevo? This is where they would have to protect the relief convoys.

[Rathfelder] They may only want to cover the withdrawal of the United Nations.

[Zubak] No, that is nonsense. On our territory, the relief convoys do not need any protection; they can move freely.

[Rathfelder] Was the offensive by the Bosnian Government forces and the Croatian Defense Council in Sarajevo influenced by the dispatch of the "Rapid Reaction Force"?

[Zubak] The offensive around Sarajevo was carried out because the UN Forces had failed to carry out their real task, namely to secure the access roads to the city.

[Rathfelder] The Bosnian side has assumed that the assignment of the Rapid Reaction Force will be to control the only free route into Sarajevo via Mt. Igman, which is however under permanent Serbian fire, and thus freeze the situation around the city?

[Zubak] Yes, this assumption is not unfounded. The international community only wants to freeze the positions, it wants to leave everything as it is. The UN actions in Croatia are proof of that. We cannot accept that.

[Rathfelder] So the government forces had to react and launch the offensive around Sarajevo because the Rapid Reaction Force was coming?

[Zubak] We will claim compensation from the British. The operation around Sarajevo will continue. The objective of the operation is to end the blockade of Sarajevo.

[Rathfelder] The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is obviously working well in the military sphere. Is this also the case in the political area?

[Zubak] Of course, it is a parallel process that is aimed at. Good cooperation. We Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina want the Federation, but the Muslim side now seems to be having difficulties.

[Rathfelder] When will the Croatian-Bosnian state "Herzeg-Bosnia," which is not recognized, be abolished and ultimately be integrated into the Federation?

[Zubak] As soon as the Federation works as it should.

[Rathfelder] What is your idea of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, what should become of Bosnia? Should it be divided or grow together again with the Serbian part?

[Zubak] My vision of Bosnia is that it should become like Switzerland.

[Rathfelder] Some Bosnian Army generals want to reconquer all of Bosnia. This would not be what the Contact Group is trying to achieve.

[Zubak] This prospect is not realistic.

[Rathfelder] If Bosnia should, nevertheless, remain one, then a Bosnian Federation would have to form two confederations. The Croatian-Bosnian Federation would be linked with Croatia in a confederation, and the Serbian-Bosnian side in a confederation with Serbia. Yet, that is no longer the Swiss model.

[Zubak] From the Croatian vantage point I say that there cannot be any kind of revival of Yugoslavia.

[Rathfelder] There seems to be a contradiction. You either agree to Contact Group plan and Bosnia will be divided or you accept the confederations with Croatia and Serbia.

[Zubak] We have so far accepted every plan that was presented simply for the sake of peace and of ending the

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hostilities. But we have not yet discussed the ultimate solutions.

Bundestag Considers Sending Support for RRF

AU0307140095 Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 30 Jun 95 p 6

[Interview with Hans Koschnick, EU administrator in Mostar, by Michael Thumann in Mostar; date not given: "No Steel Helmets!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Thumann] On Friday [30 June], the German Bundestag will decide whether Bundeswehr troops and fighter aircraft are to be deployed to the former Yugoslavia in support of the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF]. What position to you recommend that your party, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, should take?

[Koschnick] In the event that the UN troops are withdrawn from Bosnia, we must not leave the blue helmets in the lurch—not just for the sake of the United Nations and NATO, but because we cannot afford to leave our EU partners, who are fulfilling tasks in the Balkans for us, alone. That is why I am in favor of using the Tornados for withdrawing troops. But if they were to participate in the regrouping of the blue helmets, the Federal Government would have to ask the Bundestag to agree to joining the UN troops in the former Yugoslavia. That would mean accepting to take part as a party in the conflict for the first time. So far, the Federal Government's position has been: Owing to historic events, we will not send any troops to the former Yugoslavia. If this is changed now—not to get people out, but to participate in the restructuring—one has to state clearly: We want to be a country that deploys troops. Anything else is a lie.

[Thumann] Does that mean you do not consider deploying Tornados to Bosnia necessary at the moment?

[Koschnick] We do not need them in restructuring the UN troops as long as UN Special Envoy Akashi says that they will do nothing else but fulfill blue-helmet functions. Apart from that, one thing is very clear: German steel helmets in the Balkans, liked by the Slovenes and Croats, will motivate [motivieren] the Serbs.

[Thumann] Is there any point in intervening in the war with air strikes?

[Koschnick] Yes, there is a point, if those deploying troops really want to fight. But they do not. The Europeans do not want to be pulled into the war.

[Thumann] What can the RRF do?

[Koschnick] A little more power might enable them to get to places where UN troops are at risk. But they cannot do anything where the civilian population is at risk. A bomb attack on Tuzla, for instance, is no reason for intervening. Nobody wants to be involved in the war. That is why, formally, the RRF is only a threatening gesture, while in actual fact it is preparing a withdrawal.

[Thumann] What will the EU administrator in Mostar do if the UN troops leave Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Koschnick] If the UN Protection Force withdraws, Europe will leave as well.

[Thumann] Some people wish to see a clear end to the United Nations' luckless commitment in the Balkans.

[Koschnick] Sure, getting out of Bosnia would be a 100-percent correction of the course. Let it burn itself out. But then the next violent leaders in southeast and Eastern Europe would also use military means to push through their objectives. If that happens, millions of people in Europe will flee. And they will not run to Valdivostok or Tehran, but to Central Europe.

[Thumann] Is there a solution to the conflict?

[Koschnick] I cannot see a solution, but I can tell you what I fear might happen. In the end, Croatia could be pacified by making the Serbian-controlled Krajina clearly part of Croatia, although autonomous. Milosevic will then be compensated on some other border, and a number of concessions will be made to the Bosnian Serbs, which will make one nation the loser in the end: the Muslims. The indications are that a new Munich 1938 might happen, this time to the Muslims' disadvantage.

Replacement of Delic, General Staff Predicted

AU0507082195 Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 3 Jul 95 p 10

[Article by "special correspondent" Miran J. Lesjak: "Blockade of Offensive Instead of Lifting Blockade of Sarajevo"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tuzla, Breza 3 July (by our special correspondent)—At the end of the previous week, the roads around Sarajevo were full of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers in unbuttoned uniforms who were stopping bypassing cars or waiting for army busses. Approximately 100 soldiers of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's Home Guard Brigade [gardijska brigada] were sent on leave in the middle of last week. The abandoned barracks have livened up again. Soldiers are saying that "politics has intervened again," while cars can be seen transporting coffins along the roads to the front lines.

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All this paints a very unusual picture of the Sarajevo region compared with the official explanations that the fighting for the lifting of the Sarajevo's blockade is reaching a climax. The military authorities do not explain what is happening and media reports have for several days spoken only of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers successfully repelling attacks by Karadzic's army on the conquered positions, stabilizing the front line, liberating villages in the hills above the city, and suchlike. [passage omitted]

The offensive to lift the blockade of Sarajevo is the first major headquarters operation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. It has been masterminded by senior officers of the Army's General Staff, commanded by General Rasim Delic, who defected from the Yugoslav Army (some of them very late) to the Bosnia-Herzegovina side. However, mounting criticism can be heard directed precisely at these officers, including Gen. Delic. The general public, which is less well informed and the junior middle-ranking officers ascribe the greatest responsibility for the fiasco of the offensive to them. The public in general reproaches them for inertia, egoism, lack of drive, bureaucracy, and even corruption. The well-informed expect that, because of all this criticism and the failure of the offensive, Gen. Delic's team and his assistants will most probably be replaced within the next few months. Younger officers, unburdened by the past and very successful on the fronts, with greater operational knowledge and enjoying the trust of the soldiers, are expected to enter the General Staff. The names of these officers are currently already circulating on the Bosnian political and military grapevine.

Mediation Attempts by Serbian Patriarch Denied

LD0407135295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1243 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 4 July (SRNA)—In connection with the report from the BETA news agency that His Holiness Patriarch Pavle of Serbia attempted during his visit to the [Bosnian] Serb Republic to persuade the Serb leadership to accept the Contact Group plan, the religious affairs ministry of the government of the Serb Republic issued a statement today denying the claims.

"The intentions of this theory that Patriarch Pavle of Serbia and the Serbian Orthodox Church have accepted the Contact Group plan and that the Serb Republic leadership remains stubbornly isolated in its war orientation are dishonest.

"From what is written it can be concluded that the people and leadership of the Serb Republic have lost all their former illusions that the Serbian Orthodox Church is an institution that has supported and united them in recent times," the statement says.

The religious affairs ministry stresses that the visit of his holiness and other archbishops to the Serb Republic was primarily of a pastoral nature. The ministry says that during the meeting with Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic and other representatives of the state leadership there was no discussion of a military or political solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

UN Envoy Condemns Serbs' 'Forceful Mobilization'

AU0407185895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivica Misic, charge d'affaires of the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission in New York, has written to the UN's Butrus-Ghali. In the letter, he condemns the behavior of the government of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia in connection with the forceful mobilization of Serbs, citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who have refugee status in the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia.

The mobilization is being carried out by the Pale Serbs' military police with the full support and cooperation of the police and military authorities of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia. Forcefully mobilized persons are immediately handed over to the aggressor's paramilitary forces. In much the same way, citizens of Serb nationality, otherwise Croat citizens currently residing in Yugoslavia, end up on Bihac fronts, Ambassador Misic's letter claims.

The letter also stresses that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government vehemently condemns such actions and considers them to be a serious breach of Yugoslavia's decision to close the border and suspend all contacts with Bosnian Serb leaders. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Government considers forceful mobilization to be an act of aggression against our country.

Latest Figures on Banja Luka Expulsions

AU0307145095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the latest information, 362,165 people have fled or have been expelled from the Bosnian Krajina since April 1992. Of these, 227,080 are Bosniaks, 95,524 are Croats, and 38,562 are members of other nationalities.

Some 90 percent of Bosnians and 80 percent of Croats have been expelled from the Banja Luka Municipality alone. In this municipality, 275 Bosnians and 82 Croats have been killed.

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Before the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, there were 16 mosques in Banja Luka. All of them were destroyed between April and December 1993. Apart from mosques, the Serbs have also destroyed other places of Islamic culture, the Muslim Information Agency MINA reports.

WHO Official Warns of 'Complacency'

AU0507123495 Paris AFP in English 1157 GMT 5 Jul 95

[Report by Adrian Brown]

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, July 5 (AFP)—Water shortages in Sarajevo are threatening the health of thousands in the Bosnian capital where the monthly toll of death and injuries from shelling and sniping has more than doubled, the World Health Organisation said Wednesday [5 July].

A total of 144 civilians were killed in June while more than 600 were injured in the city, the WHO's chief in Bosnia, Stephanie Simmonds said. The comparable figure for May was 144 dead and 245 wounded. In January and February just one person died during each month.

"Among those statistics are the elderly and children killed as they wait for water, patients in hospitals killed by snipers and health staff injured as they care for the injured in hospital," Simmonds said.

"That is 144 deaths and 608 war injuries too many and there is a real danger that the international community perceives these high figures as normal and that complacency will reign," she added.

Simmonds said the WHO was "particularly concerned at the seemingly increase in the military targetting of health facilities."

In June, one man was shot dead by a Serb sniper as he lay in his bed in the city's main Kosevo hospital. He was the fifth such victim since the start of the war. In the same period, the Kosevo infirmary has been hit by heavy artillery 256 times while 47 hospital workers have been killed.

Cases of diarrhoea in Sarajevo have also risen in recent weeks Simmonds said. The number has more than tripled in the last month due to the deteriorating sanitary situation in Sarajevo.

People have only five litres of clean water per day, much less than the 30 litres the WHO says is essential for each individual.

"That is not enough, especially as the weather gets hotter. The shortage of water is now seriously threatening the health of the entire civilian population in Sarajevo," Simmonds said. [passage omitted]

Essential chlorine tablets needed to keep water clean were available and waiting at various points outside the city to be brought in, Simmonds said. The last WHO delivery of essential medical supplies was about three months ago. "It is not a case of their being insufficient supply available, its just that we cannot get them safely into the city," she said.

The WHO official said were it not for the "extremely high" standards of hygiene in hospitals and homes the situation would be much worse and warned that children could soon be at risk.

"Five litres of clean water a day in a refugee camp in a developing country would be just about intolerable. Considering we are in the middle of Europe it's pretty bad," she said.

"There is no doubt that if this state of siege continues then the children will become increasingly vulnerable. We are monitoring that situation very carefully."

International Airlift 'Unlikely To Resume'

AU0307144795 Paris AFP in English 1355 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 3 (AFP)—An international airlift into besieged Sarajevo which began exactly three years ago but has been grounded since April 8 is unlikely to resume, aid officials said on Monday [3 July].

"There is not much to celebrate but it is a good opportunity to remind people that Sarajevo is still a city under siege," Kris Janowski of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said.

The airlift, organised by the UNHCR, was the longest such operation in aviation history and brought some 153,000 tonnes of food into the Bosnian capital on 12,300 flights.

The flights were halted in April when the Bosnian Serbs who control territory close to Sarajevo airport withdrew security guarantees for the UN cargo planes. Prior to this the Serbs, and occasionally Bosnian government forces, had fired at the aircraft.

When the airlift was running it brought in nearly 80 percent of the city's needs, some 6,000 tonnes a month. Problems with targeting of aircraft this year dropped that percentage to about a half.

The rest came in by roads that have also been closed by the Bosnian Serbs. Currently the only route into the

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city is a dangerous dirt track down Mount Igman, a road that is systematically targeted by Serb gunners.

Little aid has come down this route owing to the dangers. The UNHCR met just 41 percent of its target in May and 15 percent in June. Janowski said the aid agency would likely not meet any of its target for July.

"Certainly this cannot go on forever. If it goes on forever we will have a dire situation here within weeks," the spokesman said.

"We had a bad situation in 1992, and we had very bad spells in 1993. But in those days there was still an airlift and if there were suspensions they were limited and it would come back on.

"At the moment it's stuck completely. There are no prospects for the reopening of the airlift and few prospects for the roads to reopen," he said.

Janowski said the city's bakery had some five or six days' worth of wheat flour left and the UN agency was providing it with fuel. He did not know the extent of government stocks.

"In terms of prospects (for resuming the airlift) we are talking about the worst situation we have seen... we had times when it was as bad or even worse than now but then there was a lot more light at the end of the tunnel than we have at the moment. The larger picture is very very grim," the UNHCR official said.

The Bosnian Government does have a makeshift tunnel under the UN administered airport which links territory they control in and outside the city. However, Janowski said he doubted the tunnel had the capacity to substitute for the airlift.

Karadzic Congratulates Yugoslav Basketball Team

LD0307170795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 3 Jul (SRNA)—On behalf of the Serb people west of the Drina river, Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic today congratulated the Yugoslav basketball team on winning the gold medal on the European championship in Greece.

The message of congratulations to the Yugoslav Basketball League, forwarded to SRNA by the Bosnian Serb republic bureau for news contacts, says "the entire population of the Bosnian Serb republic watched and cheered the Yugoslav team in the finals of the European basketball championship last night."

Having expressed satisfaction with the gold medal which the team won, Karadzic added "the enormous response which the Yugoslav basketball team's victory had in the Bosnian Serb republic, confirms that the Serbs belong to the same nation and that there are no borders that can keep separate them."

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RSK's Martic Sets Conditions for Talks

LD0307212095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2012 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Karl Bildt, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, said in Knin today that there was a possibility to continue the negotiating process between Knin and Zagreb.

This possibility was also confirmed by Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], who mentioned preliminary talks, perhaps in Geneva and without a set agenda.

At a brief news conference for local and foreign reporters, after the talks with the RSK president, Bildt described the current situation and relations between Krajina and Croatia as difficult.

He, however, said he hoped that further talks could "bring about talks of a more serious nature," despite the conditions set by both sides for continuing the negotiating process.

Bildt stressed—cochairman Stoltenberg supported him on this issue—that it had been pointed out to both sides that there were only two options in resolving relations betwen Knin and Zagreb—war or further talks.

The cochairmen stressed that they would do their best to "bring about a peaceful and just solution for all serious issues in relations between Knin and Zagreb." "We want to change the situation and the state of affairs which is on the brink of war," Stoltenberg added.

RSK President Martic revealed precise conditions for further negotiations. He said that the minimum condition for further talks was "Croatia withdrawing its forces from Mt. Dinara and that the area of western Slavonia, occupied in May as well as all those parts which were occupied in 1991 and 1992, are fully declared an exclusive UN protected zone."

Martic added that the RSK demanded a normal flow of goods from the eastern to the western part of the republic.

Granic: Zagreb Committed to Washington Agreement

LD0407214095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, the situation in the occupied areas of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina was discussed in Zagreb by Foreign Affairs Minister Mate Granic and Alvaro De Soto, the UN secretary general's aide for political affairs. Granic expressed concern over the deteriorating situation in Croatia's areas outside the control of the Croatian authorities. He drew attention to the fact that the conditions set by the local Serb authorities for restarting negotiations on implementing the economic agreements and starting political negotiations were unacceptable.

This is why it is necessary to start as soon as possible the implementation of the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration Operation] mandate in Croatia and particularly the deployment of UN forces along Croatia's international borders, Granic stressed. The concentration of military forces in the occupied areas of Croatia and the announced unification of the Croatian and the Bosnian Serbs would set back the peaceful solution to which Croatia aspires.

Granic and De Soto also discussed the possibility of mutual recognition between all the states that have emerged in the area of the former Yugoslavia and the normalization of Croatian-Serbian relations. Having described the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina as critical, Granic stressed that Croatia expected the rapid reaction force to safeguard humanitarian corridors and help the threatened civilian population. Croatia will support a new round of peace negotiations on the basis of the contact group's plan and continue to be committed to the implementation of the Washington agreement and the establishment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, Minister Granic said.

Serbs Steal 10 Missiles From Danish UN Forces

BR0507095795 Copenhagen POLITIKEN in Danish 1 Jul 95 p 1

[Article by Michael Seidelin and Jesper Strudsholm: "Serbs Stole Missile System From Danes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In their greatest humiliation of UN forces in Croatia so far, Serbian troops have stolen a missile system worth several million kroner from the Danish battalion in the area.

The theft of a total of 10 missiles took place three weeks ago, and is the first example of the Serbs in Croatia taking advanced weapons from UN forces. Nevertheless the Danish Army's Operational Command and the Defence Ministry chose to keep silent on the loss of the expensive missiles.

"From the beginning, the Army Operational Command handed over control of the Danish forces to the UN. It is too delicate a situation for us to go in and interfere," said Major Bent Agger, press officer of the Army Operational Command. He was not yet willing to confirm that the missiles had disappeared, saying only that UN forces were missing one truck.

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On the other hand, Bent Agger was ready to tell about the series of humiliations which culminated in the missile theft. During the previous month, Danish officers have been seen walking along Croatian country roads in their underpants, after Serbs had stolen everything from their ID cards to their hand weapons.

Do Danish taxpayers not have the right to know what happens to the expensive weapons systems and the soldiers we send to Croatia? "No comment," Bent Agger said.

At UN headquarters in the Croatian capital of Zagreb, spokeswoman Leah Melnick confirmed that on 12 June the Serbs had stopped a Danish truck and taken the missiles.

"They had a look under the tarpaulin covering the platform and obviously saw something they liked," she said.

On the truck's platform lay 10 TOW missiles, which are used against tanks, and are the United Nations' most advanced defensive weapons in Croatia. The missiles lay there complete with firing and aiming systems for both day and night use. The Army Procurement Office refuses to say how much they cost. But sources in the military estimate this at between two and four million kroner.

According to Leah Melnick there has been a "dramatic rise" in the number of robberies committed against UN forces in recent months. She has difficulty in explaining why.

"But it looks like it happens, when they realize they can get away with it," Leah Melnick said.

Despite three weeks of negotiations and official UN protests to the Serbs' self-appointed government in Knin, there has thus far been no success in getting the missiles back. It was impossible to obtain a comment from Defence Minister Hans Haekkerup (Social Democrat) yesterday.

Missiles Returned

LD0407174895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 4 (TANJUG)—Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina on Tuesday returned a Danish truck with 10 antitank missiles that had been taken last month from Danish U.N. peacekeepers.

The U.S.-made TOW missiles and their launch tubes which were taken on June 12 near Volinja in the Republic of Serb Krajina were returned after 'long negotiations,' the Danish army said in a statement.

The weapons had been stored in a Serb depot and were handed over to the Danes on Tuesday morning, the army said. The equipment had not been damaged, ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS AGENCY Reported.

TOW missiles are considered to be one of the most modern anti-tank weapons in use in the former Yugoslavia.

UN Sees Mounting Tension in Dinara Mountains

LD0407161195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, July 4 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for U.N. peacekeeping forces in Sector South Alan Roberts said on Tuesday that tension was mounting on Dinara mountain range, which is a cause for growing concern for the U.N. forces headquarters.

Roberts made the concerns known at a regular press conference in Knin, and gave details of fire exchanges between the parties to the conflict on the Dinara mountain range, on the border between the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the republic of Serb Krajina torn by civil war.

The republic of Serb Krajina was declared by Serbs in parts of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia where they make up the majority of the population, in response to the Croatia's forcible secession from the SFR of Yugoslavia in 1991.

Joint forces of the army of the Republic of Croatia and the army of Bosnian Croats are taking part in the attacks on the republic of Serb Krajina from the Dinara mountain range, in the immediate vicinity of Knin.

Roberts said that the joint forces of the Croatian army and the army of Bosnian Croats fired on July 1st 95 artillery shells on the positions of Krajina fighters and Krajina villages at the foot of Dinara mountain.

Croatian forces continued their artillery attacks on July 2 and 3 forcing the Krajina army to retaliate, Roberts said. At the same time the Croatian army and Bosnian Croat army troops are entrenching themselves on Dinara, Roberts said.

Such a situation on Dinara reflects itself on the situation in the entire Sector South. Troop movements and other activities detected along the line of separation are a cause for concern for the U.N. peacekeeping command in Knin.

Roberts specified that, for example, in the region of Obrovac military observers detected the movement of a large number of buses, trucks and other vehicles transporting Croatian troops and arms.

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Concerns are compounded by the presence of troops of both sides near the separation zone, or even in the buffer zone itself, Roberts added.

Roberts said the presence of 50 to 60 Croatian soldiers at 13 positions in the separation zone in the U.N.-protected Sector South was causing distrust on the other side, which is "undertaking appropriate measures."

Communications Minister on Radio, TV Tenders

LD0307202495 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At today's extraordinary session of the Telecommunications Council, tenders were opened in public to a competition for concessions in the field of radio and TV operations. The tenders were opened by Ivica Mudrinic, the chairman of the council, minister of Maritime Traffic, Transport and Communications, who is our guest. Mr. Mudrinic, what kind of interest, or perhaps, before this issue, perhaps you can comment on this procedure although its results are not known as yet but which, if I may sound pretentious, is a historic watershed in terms of the development of democracy in our country.

[Mudrinic] Five years ago, we opted for a market economy. In the sphere of public information it was also our intention to introduce market mechanisms, meaning private initiative and private capital. By adopting the Law on Telecommunications a year ago, we opened up this possibility, so the council in effect embarked on its first procedure. Today, we opened the tenders made for the first competition.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the level of interest like?

[Mudrinic] There is a great deal of interest. We have several offers for some concessions whereas some other concessions have attracted only one offer. We have several concessions which attracted no offers.

[Correspondent] Which areas were most contested?

[Mudrinic] The greatest interest was demonstrated in those areas which are most promising in commercial terms—the city of Zagreb, the area of the Medjimurje County, Split, Rijeka, and Istria.

[Correspondent] Perhaps, we could have more figures. How many tenders did you receive?

[Mudrinic] One hundred and thirty-one radio tenders and 18 TV tenders.

[Correspondent] Although our time is limited, could you tell us to what extent the tenders meet the criteria?

[Mudrinic] It seems to me that as far as the volume is concerned, most of these tenders were prepared very well, with a great deal of quality and effort invested in their preparation. Now, of course, an expert review will follow, a review of programs, so we shall find out who made the best tender which meets all legal and other criteria.

[Correspondent] When are we going to know the results?

[Mudrinic] The legal deadline for the publication of the results is 15 August.

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Gligorov Meets With Serbian Socialist Leader

LD0307162795 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], received in Skopje today a delegation of the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] headed by Deputy Chairman Goran Percevic.

In the course of the talks Gligorov expressed interest in full normalization of relations between the two states.

The two sides noted the traditional friendship and closeness between their nations and the mutual desire to develop goodneighborly relations. They stressed that intensification of political contacts would create a better atmosphere in which outstanding issues could be resolved.

In the course of the talks with Gligorov, Percevic said that "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia sees prospects for the Balkans in cooperation and closer ties between and equality among the regional states as an inevitable part of the overall European integration process." [passage omitted]

Percevic concluded that the talks he had in Skopje with President Gligorov and leaders of political parties in the ruling coalition were exceptionally important.

He underlined in particular that the Skopje talks "represent an important step toward restoration of the political dialogue, which was halted for a long time."

Head of New Intelligence Service Appointed

LD0407182095 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—It was announced in Skopje today that the government appointed Dobrije Velickovski, a retired policeman of the former state security service, to head the newly established department for intelligence services.

Internal Affairs Minister Ljubomir Frckovski said at a news conference that Velickovski was appointed last night at his suggestion because he is professional, with high ethical and work qualities. [passage omitted]

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Jankowski Apologizes for Anti-Semitic Remarks

LD0507094395 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Jul 95

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to Gdansk Archbishop Tadeusz Goclowski, Father Henryk Jankowski has expressed regret and has apologized for his—as he wrote—ill-considered words about the Jewish nation. Father Jankowski has acknowledged that the critical reactions of the Vatican and the Polish Episcopate to his remarks were correct. The Radio Information Agency has reported that in response to this the Gdansk Metropolitan has forsaken applying Canon Law sanctions in relation to the priest. He warned him, however, that in the event such behavior is repeated the church authorities might take measures with severe consequences for Father Jankowski.

[Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish at 1900 GMT on 4 July reports that Gdansk Metropolitan Archbishop Tadeusz Goclowski has warned Father Henryk Jankowski that if he makes any more anti-Semitic remarks, he may be dismissed from the post of parish priest of St. Bridget's Church in Gdansk.

[The report adds that "Archbishop Goclowski told Father Jankowski to avoid political remarks in his sermons. He also banned him from giving interviews to the media, other than the church media, without receiving the archbishop's personal consent."]

Further on Jankowski Apology

WS0507110195 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 2

[Report attributed to the Catholic Information Agency: "Father Jankowski Apologizes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to Archbishop Tadeusz Goclowski, Father Henryk Jankowski, parish priest of St. Bridget's Church in Gdansk, apologized for his "unthinking words concerning the Jewish nation." In reply to this, on 4 July the Gdansk metropolitan gave up plans to impose Canon Law sanctions against him.

Father Jankowski wrote that, while following current developments in the homeland, he saw many examples of behavior which contribute to violations of the ethical order. "Unfortunately, I let myself be carried away by emotion," he said, "and as a result, I spoke unthinking words concerning the Jewish nation. I did not bring those emotions under control, both during the sermon on 11 June and during my conversation with journalists, especially on the television program." The St. Bridget parish head said that "the Holy See, the Polish Episcopate, as well as Archbishop Goclowski quite rightly responded critically to these statements of mine." He added that his intention "was not to antagonize Poles and Jews or to rouse anti-Semitic attitudes. I do realize, however, that talking about symbols which are most sacred to the Jewish people, in the context of criminal ideologies of our century, was a moral injustice done to Jews and an act of considerable misconduct, for which I wholeheartedly apologize.

"I would also like to express regret that, regardless of my intentions, my statements were used as an argument to criticize the church and the attitudes of Polish people toward other nations. I apologize to all those people who were offended." The priest stated that from that this moment onward he will focus exclusively on matters of the church and that he would avoid political undercurrents, even though he is not indifferent to the problems of his homeland.

Foreign Minister Discusses Changes, Policies

WS0307144895 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 23 Jun 95 pp 1, 12-13

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski by Barbara Sulek-Kowalska; place and date not given: "One's Own Boss"; first paragraph is an excerpt from a Bartoszewski speech]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "I am the one who prevents worse things from occurring in political relations; the one who is doing his best to see to it that various kinds of actions and statements are not detrimental to our country outside of it; the one who sees to it that as little attention as possible is paid to these detrimental things."

[Sulek-Kowalska] You said this when you summed up the discussion following your speech in the Sejm. To which statements were you referring?

[Bartoszewski] If, for example, a member of the Polish parliament is abroad and expresses doubts whether Poland's integration with EU and NATO is really needed, then—even though the Sejm deputy is independent and is a representative of the people—the minister should do his best to convince the public in that country that this view is not shared by the majority. I tell them that there are crackpots in Poland (this word is difficult to translate into a foreign language)—I mean extremists, madmen, and psychopaths who support extreme slogans. Then I am assaulted for that. Now, after all, we do have stupid people, provincial spiritual leaders which do not understand anything of what they are talking about. However, they do not express the opinions of any serious political party or any serious group of citizens.

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[Sulek-Kowalska] You were attacked in the Sejm for that. However, no one asked you what exactly you had said in Israel about returning real estate and other property to former Polish owners of Jewish origin.

[Bartoszewski] It is too bad that journalists in Poland do not write about what the foreign minister has really said abroad. I said in Israel that the issue of returning religious property is already in the legislative process. I also said that returning anything to nonexistent organizations or to people from outside Poland is out of the question. In Israel, just as in other places, I said clearly that the partner in all talks in Poland can only be the Union of Jewish Religious Communities, which exists in Poland, and not any international organizations or foreign governments. I also recalled that Polish citizens suffered great losses during the war as well, and they never received any compensation for those losses from either the German or Polish Governments. Most probably they will never receive any compensation.

[Sulek-Kowalska] Foreign policy is a derivative of what is going on in a given country. Now, since things are not developing very well in Poland, you probably have found yourself in an awkward situation as a minister; lack of internal cohesion leads to external difficulties.

[Bartoszewski] We do not believe that we are the worst. In the Italian or Japanese parliaments, for instance, deputies fight with one another, while in the Polish parliament they do not. A member of the Italian parliament was a well-known prostitute. Let me ask the following question, then: Why do others demand that the Polish democratic system, which has been built for six years now, be perfect, even though in Western countries amazing things are happening which are difficult to understand? I keep telling my Western partners that we are now "five and a half years past the zero hour." I tell them: Do not compare Poland to what you have in Western Europe now; compare it to what you had five years after World War II.

[Sulek-Kowalska] Thus, as I understand it, for you, personally, these difficulties...

[Bartoszewski] ...are simply a result of the fact that for 45 years a sovereign Polish Republic did not exist. I never said anything that contradicted this. I cannot say that Poland did not exist at all—after all, it had more freedom and liberties than Soviet Union republics, Romania, or the GDR. However, it was not a normal, sovereign state, even though it had some form of statehood.

[Sulek-Kowalska] I imagine that it is probably difficult for you to be a member of the Council of Ministers which does not share your view.

[Bartoszewski] It is not difficult. I have been in office for 100 days. Therefore, I am trying to assess this period and draw conclusions. If I came to the conclusion that I have no chance to create the interests of the Polish state, I would not take on the task of fulfilling this function.

[Sulek-Kowalska] When you assumed office, you declared that you would continue to implement the general policies outlined by your predecessors. Have you changed your mind over those 100 days and do you think you should make some changes?

[Bartoszewski] Yes, yes, yes. I have put certain things in order and now I can see the direction in which we should go. I managed to keep my first promises, such as appointment of a representative of the Polish Republic in the Holy See, and appointment of an ambassador to Israel. In the first case the issue has already been settled, and in the second—things are going very well. I prepared changes in diplomatic posts—without violating the Labor Code, wherever this was possible. Then I saw what kinds of structural, organizational, and personnel changes were needed in the ministry. I have already made some of them. The ministry has a new personnel department director. [passage omitted]

[Sulek-Kowalska] We witnessed the Republic of Belarus losing its sovereignty; on our border with this country we will once again see officers of the Russian Border Troops. Russian customs officers are already there. One can say that we—and Europe—have lost Belarus.

[Bartoszewski] It is difficult to imagine a situation in which Europe or part of it, such as Poland, forces the Belarusian people and politicians to take any action, or in which it orders Russian politicians to not operate in Belarus... This way of thinking is totally unrealistic.

[Sulek-Kowalska] I think that it was possible to draw Belarus closer, by developing economic links...

[Bartoszewski] Do you think so? I do not.

[Sulek-Kowalska] At a meeting in Krakow a few days ago, Stanislav Shushkevich [former Belarusian Supreme Soviet chairman] complained that the fledgling democracy did not have any support abroad.

[Bartoszewski] We opened our border with Belarus; over 2.5 million Belarusian citizens come to our country every year. [passage omitted]

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UW Wants SLD Leader To Resign From Commission

WS0407135995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by Agata Nowakowska: "Constitution and Presidential Elections; UW: Let Us Wait; SLD: Let Us Speed Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "A constitution which is passed when Kwasniewski is in charge of the work and during the presidential campaign will be thrown into the trash," warns Jan Maria Rokita of the Freedom Union [UW]. The party wants work on the constitution to be completed after the presidential elections. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], and the Union of Labor [UP] are against the idea.

In the Constitutional Commission yesterday, UW accused SLD and its candidate, Aleksander Kwasniewski, of taking advantage of the constitution in the presidential elections. The SLD leader chairs the Constitutional Commission. Jerzy Ciemniewski of UW argued: "The presidential campaign and the interests of candidates influence the work of the Constitutional Commission."

"As a cultured man I am able to fight against Kwasniewski as a presidential candidate, and at the same time cooperate with him superbly in the Constitutional Commission," Rokita declared. "However, a constitution which is passed when Kwasniewski is in charge of the work and during the presidential campaign will be thrown into the trash, no matter what the results of the elections."

Rokita says that if Kwasniewski wins, the opposition will launch an attack on "his" constitution and, no matter whether he likes it or not, he will have to seek a compromise. "If Kwasniewski loses, the draft constitution will lose as well," Rokita said. "This is futurology," the SLD leader retorted.

Wojciech Borowik of UP and Solidarity Senator Piotr Andrzejewski, even though they praised Kwasniewski as a good chairman of the commission, appealed to him to relinquish the chair to his deputy.

Borowik deplored the fact that the spokesman for human rights, first president of the Supreme Court, and the president of the National Bank of Poland "get their offices involved in the campaign" and may imperil their reputation. "Please, be a responsible politician and resign," he told the SLD leader.

Jerzy Wiatr of SLD recalls that when Prime Minister Mazowiecki ran for president in 1991, "it so happened that no one encouraged him to resign from office." He defended Kwasniewski: "When people whose offices are apolitical by nature are running, it is a different story; I mean such people as the spokesman for human rights or the first president of the Supreme Court. The office of chairman of the Constitutional Commission, however, is a political function."

All of SLD was outraged when they were accused of taking advantage of the constitution to gain more votes. They were backed by PSL. "A peasant who plows, sows, but does not reap is a bad peasant. We have already done the sowing," said Slawomir Szatkowski.

SLD and UP submitted a motion which was quite the opposite of what UW proposed: They requested that the commission speed its work up. Then it might prepare the draft law before the "fierce" campaign. "Poland has been waiting for a new basic law for six years now," argued Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz of SLD.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki (UW) kept saying that work must be discontinued. "We are concerned over the constitution; this is why we do not want to involve it in current politics."

Ciemniewski, who was outraged, fulminated: "We do not want the constitution to fall victim to your populist plans." Then he recalled the social provisions [found in the draft constitution], which UW believes are unrealistic.

Kwasniewski was last to take the floor. He argued that "there are always some elections to be held and it is high time Poland had its constitution." He emphasized that while the commission was working on the constitution, there were no political wrangles; there was only a fight in which real arguments were used.

He added that when the date of the presidential elections is announced, he will consider the possibility of relinquishing his duties to his deputy.

The UW motion is to be put to a vote on Wednesday. For the time being UW can count only on the Confederation for an Independent Poland to support it.

Right Wing Urged To Field Joint Candidate

WS0407082995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Marcin Dominik Zdort: "The Right Before a Successive Failure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Adam Strzembosz, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Jan Olszewski, Leszek Moczulski—these are the names on the list of rightist presidential candidates. Their number continues to grow, every week a new one

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appears promising to unite and save the right wing of our political spectrum. Everything seems to indicate, however, that Lech Walesa has the greatest influence on what happens on the right.

Walesa Is Effective

Until recently, it seemed almost unimaginable that Lech Walesa might become one of the most serious right wing candidates. In conflict with chairmen of the most eminent parties—with Aleksander Hall for a long time now, with Jaroslaw Kaczynski since 1992, with the majority of leaders of the Christian National Union [ZChN] ever since the Sejm was dissolved in 1993, he is currently regaining his field. The right wing is slowly beginning to treat the president more seriously. This is partly due to the fact that he currently talks a lot about fighting the postcommunists and breaking all ties to the old People's Republic. What counts most for the rightists, however, is Lech Walesa's soaring popularity—he has recently made it to the top three in opinion polls. After the failure of 1993, the majority of the right wing concluded that it must study the preferences of its constituency with greater care. That constituency is willing to forget the Lech Walesa "supported the left leg" in the past and vote for the Lech Walesa who is trying to fight "communism" these days. "The candidate we support must not only state his will to implement a program of which we would approve, but also stand a chance of winning against Aleksander Kwasniewski," say ZChN leaders.

Many rightist politicians claim Lech Walesa's withdrawal would be a godsend for their part of the political scene. They believe this would allow us to put an end to the "unsubstantial" division of the anticommunist part of our society into those for and against the current president. Since many of the rightists believe Walesa has the greatest chances of winning, they point out that his withdrawal would prove his responsibility for the fate of the state. They hope "their" candidate (whoever that is) would then take over Walesa's constituency and make it to the top of opinion polls.

To Prevent Miraculous Proliferation

Many of Walesa's supporters on the right claim, however, that the president's withdrawal from elections would have tragic consequences for the anticommunist part of our society. "The candidates would proliferate," says a ZChN politician. "Different people who were his colleagues at various points of his career and had thus far remained in the shadows would start coming forward, splitting the president's constituency among themselves: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Andrzej Olechowski, Zbigniew Religa..."

By running in the elections, Lech Walesa might prevent such a "miraculous proliferation"—those declaring they do not want to take votes away from their patron, in particular [former Foreign Minister] Olechowski and Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, would then back out of the elections. Those rightist candidates, on the other hand, who consider themselves an "antitheses" to Lech Walesa, specifically Jan Olszewski and Adam Strzembosz, would see themselves in the elections.

It is worth noting that although Walesa is still trying to win the rightist parties' support, he is the only serious candidate so far who can run regardless of whether he has the support of any political groupings or not. The only opinions he takes seriously are those of the church and—albeit to a lesser degree—of Solidarity.

Strzembosz Loses His Drive

Apart from Walesa, who is flaunting his lack of party connections, the right is also seeking candidates who enjoy the support of wide coalitions of political groupings. The first such attempts resulted in the candidacy of Professor Adam Strzembosz. Until recently, the first president of the Supreme Court seemed to be the right wing's "dark horse"—soon after he was officially listed as a presidential candidate his popularity rose from 6 to 8 percent, and some polls even showed this figure to be as high as 12 percent. He thus made it to the top of popularity polls, closely following Aleksander Kwasniewski and tying with Lech Walesa.

Strzembosz was initially supported by an alliance of several rightist parties, among them the Center Accord [PC], the Conservative Party, the Conservative Coalition, the Peasant-Christian Party, and the Polish Peasant Party-Peasant Accord. ZChN considered lending its support to the first president of the Supreme Court, and Union for Real Politics [UPR] Chairman Janusz Korwin-Mikke declared that if Strzembosz did better than him in opinion polls he would be ready to enter negotiations on his own resignation.

In the first few weeks Strzembosz was fighting for voter support, his campaign lost some of its drive. It soon turned out that the professor's vision of the campaign differed from that of his political supporters (in particular PC), and that he appeals rather to the centrist constituency affiliated with the right wing of the Freedom Union than to the rightist parties. Therefore, PC and its recent favorite had to part ways—currently, Jaroslaw Kaczynski (who was the first to mention Adam Strzembosz as a candidate) points out that Strzembosz can now count on the votes of a mere 4 percent of the constituency, and claims that in this situation he should back out of the elections. The professor retorts

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he will not do this, and says of PC's participation in his campaign: "It is history."

One may suspect that PC will not remain passive in the election campaign—the leaders of this party claim Adam Strzembosz is a "particularist" candidate and are calling for a search for a hopeful around whom a wide spectrum of rightist groupings could congregate. The leaders of probably all rightist parties realize, that if their parties do not take part in the elections they will be doomed for a bleak extraparliamentary existence, demobilization, and perhaps even demoralization. Although the PC leaders have not yet named any new candidates, Lech Kaczynski, former head of the Supreme Chamber of Control, is being mentioned behind the scenes.

Primaries at St. Catherine's Covenant

One of the criticisms PC leaders addressed to Adam Strzembosz pertained to the decision of establishing contacts with St. Catherine's Covenant, which groups about a dozen minor center-right parties supported by Solidarity. The alliance was recently joined by the first parliamentary group—the Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The Covenant formed a coordination team with the leading aim of preparing primaries for the rightist candidates. It initially seemed that this would be a forum of the marginal center-right, in which only politicians who are not ranked very high in popularity polls would compete—Wojciech Ziembinski, Jan Parys, or most importantly of all, former Prime Minister Jan Olszewski.

Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz joined the group quite unexpectedly. The president of the National Bank of Poland declared that she can run as a "candidate of unity" only if Lech Walesa backs out. Everything seems to show that Ms. Waltz very quickly succeeded in attracting a constituency that is expecting a candidate capable of saving the right—she took the place previously occupied by Adam Strzembosz. His drop in the popularity polls was concurrent with her rise to 11 percent.

With [Solidarity Chairman] Marian Krzaklewski acting as middleman, the Covenant tried to persuade Adam Strzembosz to take part in a five-stage and very complex procedure of primaries, the precondition for which is an obligation to withdraw if the center right nominates another hopeful. The first president, however, did not yield although he did promise he would think it over once more before the end of June.

Who Will Primate Glemp Convince?

Center-rightist politicians do not hide the fact that only three people stand a chance of making it to the primary finals: Adam Strzembosz (if only he is willing to), Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, and Jan Olszewski. The center-rightists would like to see President Lech Walesa join the finalists. If these four fail to reach an agreement in the "conclave," as to which of them stands the greatest chances of winning the elections, the Covenant will seek the opinion of "an authority" (a member of the church hierarchy, possibly Primate Jozef Glemp himself). That authority would appeal to all the candidates except one to withdraw. Both Olszewski and Ms. Waltz promised to heed the mediation of church authorities. Lech Walesa also said recently he would back out of the race if Primate Glemp convinced him to do so.

Once the coalition supporting Adam Strzembosz fell apart, St. Catherine's Covenant has become the only forum in which some of the parties referring to themselves as the right and center-right are trying to field a joint candidate. The rightists have come forth with several other strictly rightist candidacies.

The most widely known among them is Janusz Korwin-Mikke. The chairman of UPR first convinced other politicians to sign "pacta conventa" according to which one week prior to the elections only one candidate would remain—the one indicated by opinion polls as the most popular. At the time Korwin came forth with the proposal, Adam Strzembosz seemed the most feasible beneficiary. He has been currently replaced by Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz and Lech Walesa. None of the three, however, expressed their desire to sign the "pacta conventa" suggested by Korwin. The UPR chairman himself never got more than 3 percent of support in polls ever since he officially launched his campaign. It is possible, therefore, that he would back out in the final phase of the campaign if handing over votes to another candidate would guarantee success. If, however, there remains a large number of candidates, one may hardly expect Korwin to back out of the elections despite the meager chances he stands. The candidacy of the UPR chairman will not have any practical impact on the election results for the Polish anticommunist, independence, and Christian parties that have split yet again.

The Need To Unite

If the right can as much as dream about success in the upcoming presidential elections, it must unite and come forth with a strong joint candidate. None of the contenders for the office of the head of state deny this. Unless they turn deeds into action and their personal and party ambitions are sacrificed for the public good, the right will lose another fight in its struggle to stay on the political scene.

Optimists estimate that the rightist constituency at approximately 35 percent of all voters—a group far

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larger than even Aleksander Kwasniewski's supporters. If, however, several rightist candidates stand in the fight they will split the constituency and none of them will net the number of votes that is needed to get to the second round. Many rightist voters who are disappointed with the divisions on this side of the political scene will not vote for any of the numerous candidates affiliated with the right, but rather for those who stand greater chances and are widely recognized for their official or personal authority (even if they defy rightist values)—such as Tadeusz Zielinski or Jacek Kuron.

Covenant Delays Picking Candidate

WS0407142995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by "P.W.R." and "K.Gr.": "Right Wing Did Not Choose Anyone; Disputes in Covenant"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The parties which comprise the St. Catherine's Covenant signed a contract with three candidates who are trying to obtain their support in the presidential elections. They did not, however, choose one of them. The deadline was postponed until early August. Jan Parys says that there are conflicts within the Covenant.

Last weekend the Covenant (which consists of, among others, Solidarity—"S," the Confederation for an Independent Poland, Olszewski's Movement for the Republic—RdR, Szeremietiew's RdR, Movement of the Third Republic, and the Christian Democracy-Labor Party) failed to select one candidate. The official reason was lack of time. Politicians asked candidates questions: They spoke with Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz for five and a half hours, with Jan Olszewski—for four hours, and with Leszek Moczulski—for over three hours. [passage omitted]

The contract which was signed by the politicians includes elements of a joint program, a commitment of the political camp to the candidate, and a commitment of the candidate to the camp.

Some of its details were disclosed to PAP by Jan Parys, who gave up running in the presidential elections. Among the reasons for his decision were his reservations to the contract which was concluded with the candidates in the Covenant. The contract envisions that the future president will have to consult members of the Covenant before making any political, economic, and social decisions. According to Parys, such a provision in the contract was supported by "S" Chairman Marian Krzaklewski.

Another reason for Parys' resignation were "disputes among members of the Covenant," where two camps became visible. One consists of supporters of the candidacy of Jan Olszewski, the other—supporters of Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz.

Parys says that the "S" chairman, who is a supporter of the candidacy of the National Bank of Poland president, kept postponing votes because Olszewski's supporters were in the majority.

Church Does Not Name Candidate

WS0507112995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Jul 95 p 2

[Report attributed to the Catholic Information Agency: "Church Will Not Say Who Is Its Presidential Candidate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The church will not tell people who is its candidate," replied Polish Primate Jozef Glemp yesterday when asked whom the church would endorse in the upcoming presidential elections. He added that believers would form their opinions on presidential candidates according to their own convictions, and the hierarchical church would not impose any political philosophy on them. Asked whether Lech Walesa would not be the best candidate for the church, the primate said that he does not agree that a concrete candidate be named. Finally, when he was asked whether Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz satisfies the conditions submitted by the church, the primate replied that "she is probably quite close to that."

Poll Shows Central Bank Head in 2d Place

WS0407112095 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 4 Jul 95 p 3

[Article by "KNYSZ": "Pentor for WPROST; Madame Bank President Gains"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz [president of the National Bank of Poland] already holds second place in the presidential rankings. The top place is occupied by Aleksander Kwasniewski.

"If the elections were held now, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz would be the only candidate who could successfully compete against Kwasniewski," we were told by Pentor Director Eugeniusz Smilowski. He says that the ratings of Gronkiewicz—Waltz are going up very quickly; however, it will only be possible in a month or two to say whether or not this is a permanent trend.

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Presidential Rankings

Candidate	Month (in 1995)	Support (in Percent)
Aleksander Kwasniewski	Apr	23
	Jun	26
Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz	Jun	12
Jacek Kuron	Apr	25
	Jun	12
Tadeusz Zielinski	Apr	8
	Jun	11
Lech Walesa	Apr	7
	Jun	11
Andrzej Olechowski	Apr	10
	Jun	8
Leszek Moczulski	Jun	4
Waldemar Pawlak	Apr	5
	Jun	4
Adam Strzembosz	Apr	7
	Jun	4
Jozef Zych	Jun	4

NOTE: Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, Leszek Moczulski, and Jozef Zych were not included in the April poll.

Comment on Sejm Passage of Commercialization Law

WS0307145695 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1-2 Jul 95 p 5

[Commentary by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka: "Hand in Hand"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sejm passed the Law on Commercialization and Privatization of State-Owned Companies yesterday. Both the mode of work of the Extraordinary Commission and the present shape of the law prove one thing: The goal the deputies wanted to achieve was certainly not to provide a better instrument with which to carry out privatization processes.

The government's draft of the law, though not faultless, included quite a few solutions that could have made it possible to make privatization more effective; for example, this draft allowed the privatization minister to commercialize a state-owned company without having to wait for an appropriate motion from the company's organs.

Now that the deputies have made their amendments to the law, it does not give any chance for quick privatization. The privatization minister has been deprived of the possibility of making decisions concerning commercialization independently. Each time he wants to commercialize a state-owned company for the purpose of privatization, he will have to ask the Council of Ministers for approval.

Moreover, the law also violates the principles of division of powers: Decisions concerning the economy, which should be made by the government, will actually be made by parliament. Thus, as Freedom Union Sejm Deputy Jan Wyrowinski put it, it will facilitate creation of "the Polish mutant of capitalism."

The law, as it has been passed, also enables the state to increase its control over the economy. It is true that commercialization carried out for a purpose other than privatization is to be implemented by founding organs with the consent of the privatization minister. It is not certain, however, whether the minister will not yield to pressure from colleagues of his own party and from the

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coalition partner, and whether he will not allow state- and party-owned holding companies to be set up.

The law that has been passed is the result of bargaining and all kinds of political games played on several fronts: between the coalition and the opposition, between the coalition partners, and within individual parties. Differences of opinion became noticeable, especially within the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. As a result, a fierce battle was fought within the coalition over specific provisions of the law. The government, represented by Minister Kaczmarek and the SLD, wanted more efficient privatization; Maciej Manicki, also a member of the SLD, fought first of all for privileges for companies' employees; and, finally, the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] had only one thing on its mind—how to get as much control over the economy as possible.

The party that won the most was the PSL—for the price of supporting the law that the coalition partner was trying to force. The PSL gave up only two regulations. One was the provision that envisioned that the sale of more than 50 percent of shares in the tobacco sector should require the approval of the Sejm; the other the regulation concerning the privatization of mines and nonferrous metal smelters. When, however, it came to the final voting on the entire law, both coalition partners voted in unison. And they know why.

Military Daily on Civilian Control of Army

WS0407134095 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 4 Jul 95 p 2

[Article by Tadeusz Mitek: "Democracy and the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Civilian and democratic control over the Armed Forces—does it really exist in our political system or is it only a political incantation used during disputes between politicians? The Sejm has passed the Law on the Office of the National Defense Minister with a large majority of votes. Therefore, one might be tempted to draw the conclusion that there is a clearly specified view on the subject of democratic control over the Armed Forces. We are afraid, however, that this reasoning is too optimistic.

What we imagine to be democratic control over the Armed Forces is an obvious standard of the international group which we aspire to join. Thus, let us quote how "civilian supervision over the Armed Forces in the core NATO states" is defined. The text is concise, thus there is no other way but to quote it in its entirety.

"In most NATO states—writes Marian Tarkowski in 'The Studies and Materials' published by the Press and Information Office of the National Defense Ministry [MON]—the general picture of this supervision results from the division of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial, which is binding in democratic states. The legislative authorities have specified the legal bases (constitution, legislation) of the powers and the scope of activity of all types of authorities. It follows from them that the organs that have the biggest say regarding the civilian supervision are as follows: The organs of executive authorities (the head of state, prime minister, defense minister), then parliaments (the main task of which is to pass budgets, approve the main provisions of the defense policy, and question candidates for the post of defense minister)." [passage omitted]

We hope that the author quoted will forgive us such an extensive quotation. After all, a newspaper is more widely read than an official release.

However, let us add one remark to Mr. Tarkowski's statement that the Armed Forces are a mechanism which is very complex, both structurally and socially; it is impossible to run it from outside if the one who runs it lacks the indispensable professional competence. Let us repeat what is clear for us, military men: Control exercised by constitutional authorities is to prevent the Armed Forces from being alienated from the democratic system. However, the exercising of democracy by constitutional organs cannot incapacitate the Armed Forces or question what stems from its very special professionalism.

It should be reiterated once again that the right to civilian, democratic (we still do not know what to call it) control cannot be interpreted as a unilateral activity. He who wants to control must also be prepared to bear responsibility.

Perhaps it is worthwhile—without any anniversary or propaganda occasions—to quote "The Government Law" later on referred to as "The 3 May Constitution" of 1791: "The Armed Forces are nothing else but a reliable defensive force selected from the entire strength of the nation. The nation should respect and award its Armed Forces for sacrificing solely for its defense."

It sounds pathetic, but we are talking about an historical fact which is our national pride, and let it serve as a lesson.

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Government Denies Russian Radio Station Claims

AU0307194595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The government has faxed us the following communique:

On 30 June, an official meeting took place between Romanian Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of the Russian Federation, after which an official press communique was released on the contents of the talks.

Taking note of the assertion broadcast by Radio Rossii on 30 June commenting on the aforementioned talks, in which—in connection with the cooperation in the defense industry—the Romanian prime minister is claimed to have stated that, quote, now that our contacts with the West have failed, Romania is turning its head toward Russia again, unquote, Romania's Government declared that this is pure invention of the Russian radio station and it is a flagrant contradiction with reality.

HDUR Will Ask Iliescu To Withhold Endorsement

LD0407181195 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At their meeting the heads of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] will ask President Iliescu not to endorse the [education] law which aims to wither away [elsorvasztas] the mother tongue. Tibor Bogdan reports.

[Bogdan] At noon, President Ion Iliescu told Attila Verestoy over the phone that he would receive the HDUR's parliamentary deputy group on 8 July.

The meeting was initiated by Attila Verestoy in writing. He also presented the request to Georghe Fulga, presidential councillor, this morning on behalf of the parliamentary deputies and senators of the Hungarians of Romania.

They want to explain their stance about the education law against which, incidentally, they have already appealed to the Constitutional Court. The HDUR will ask President Iliescu not to endorse the law which will lead to the withering away of education in the mother tongue if their appeal is rejected—which seems to be very likely. This would be the last chance to prevent it from becoming effective. The HDUR deputies cancelled their protest demonstration planned for tomorrow in front of the presidential palace, or more accurately, they made it conditional on the outcome of the talks.

PRM Head Announces Intent To Run for President

AU0407164295 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 28 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Victor Bratu: "Ion Iliescu's Seat in Danger—C.V. Tudor Has Begun the Electoral Campaign for Romania's Presidency"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

On 26 June, the PRM [Greater Romania Party] President Announced That He Is Running for the Presidency

The unprecedented virulent attack against President Iliescu published in the weekly ROMANIA MARE one week ago appears in a new light after Corneliu Vadim Tudor [PRM president] announced his intention to run for Romania's presidency: "Witnessing the unprecedented deterioration of the social life in Romania, I have only one alternative, either to withdrawing from political life, or to announce my candidacy to the office of the president" said C.V. Tudor during the action "Christian Supper." On that occasion, he mentioned that his "allies in the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] cannot lead this country if they lack the courage to face reality."

Viewed from this perspective, the "letter of the 300 officers" could be a fulminating start to an electoral campaign. We are going to list other arguments that lead to the idea that Tudor is taking this role of savior of the nation seriously.

C.V. Tudor Appeared Twice on the "Current Events" Program in One Night

On 26 June, Romanian television again dropped a brick when it granted long air time in the Current Events program to the action "The Christian Supper" organized by the Greater Romania Party. Broadcast immediately after the news about Tudor's intention to run for Romania's presidency, the reportage, which showed the members of the PRM leadership distributing presents and medicine to old people, meant a cheap but effective electoral campaign for a certain group of people. Moreover, Tudor was presented to the nation in the late night Current Events program on the national television station, which, according to recent opinion polls, has the greatest influence on the political views of the electorate. This appearance gave Tudor the opportunity to broadly present his views on the education law.

The Electoral Aspect of the "Letter of 300 Officers"

In the last issue of the weekly ROMANIA MARE, C.V. Tudor insists on demonstrating that the 300 high-

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ranking officers who signed the letter in which President Ion Iliescu was accused of high treason and threatened with capital punishment really do exist. Praising their gesture ("Would it have been better if they had kept silent, waiting for the best opportunity to overthrow Ion Iliescu by force, the way some people recently attempted to eliminate the Egyptian president?"), Tudor threatened that he is going to publish scores of other letters by some dissatisfied military cadres. Portraying himself as the defender of the Romanian soldiers, in reality, the PRM leader aspires to the votes that this group of citizens might grant him. This could be one of the explanations for Tudor's campaigns against some cadres in the Army leadership.

As far as the disclosure of the 300 officers' identities is concerned, the article states that this is not possible because such an act would result in their being charged and dismissed from the Army.

Anti-Semitism—One of the Infamies That C.V. Tudor Is Relying on in the Race for the Presidency

Anti-Semitism would be another one of Tudor's arguments in his race for the presidential seat; the newspapers that he manages are full of insulting epithets against Jews. In the latest issue of the ROMANIA MARE weekly, they are called "Stalinist Jews," "aggressive minority," "insolent Jews," and "Yids."

Dumitru Pislaru: "Vadim Tudor's Intention To Run for the Presidency Explains Many of His Recent Actions"

During the PDSR's news conference yesterday, PDSR Spokesman Dumitru Pislaru affirmed that the latest developments in the relations between the ruling party and the PRM will be discussed at a next meeting of the PDSR National Council. Pislaru also mentioned that the announced candidacy of the PRM leader for the office of Romania's president "explains many of his latest actions." Senator Vasile Vacaru, who was present at the news conference, tried to explain Tudor's position, claiming that this "unpleasant incident is due to his nature of an old-style romantic who lends his ear to all kind of rumors."

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Federal

Jovanovic Criticizes Turkish Role in Crisis

TA0407155695 Ankara Show Television in Turkish 1945 GMT 3 Jul 95

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Mehmet Ali Birand in Belgrade, date not given—recorded in English fading into Turkish translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Birand] Foreign Minister Jovanovic, one of the most powerful names after the president, served in Ankara for eight years. He knows Turkey very well. He particularly stresses the visit paid to Turkey by President Milosevic in 1992 and the promise made to him by Prime Minister Demirel at the time.

[Jovanovic] It was in February or March of 1992. Turkey assured us that it would help us protect Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and that it would not recognize the four republics that wanted to break away from the federation. However, a few days later, before several European countries, Turkey officially recognized all four of them. The war began on 6 April.

[Birand] Are you saying that Turkey is responsible for the present situation?

[Jovanovic] There are numerous developments and stands that show that Turkey wants to benefit from the Yugoslav crisis and increase its influence in the Balkans. For example, despite its assurances to the contrary, Turkey leads several countries that want to expel Yugoslavia from all international organizations and agreements. I ask you, why is Turkey so opposed to the maintenance of Yugoslavia's existence as a state? We do not understand that.

[Birand] Put yourself in Turkey's shoes for a moment. You see the massacre of Bosnian Muslims every day. What would you have done? Turkey cannot just sit there and do nothing. How can you expect Turkey to react differently?

[Jovanovic] We are aware that you have many Muslim citizens. They get emotional about that. We understand that. Yet, what can you say about what you did in (word indistinct), Vojvodina, and Sandzak? At every international conference, you claim that we oppress the minorities and motion for a resolution condemning us. You always act against us. I ask you, why are you interested in Vojvodina? There is not a single Muslim there. Not a single incident was reported there indicating that minority rights were violated.

Your former chief of the general staff admitted that you extend military aid to the Bosnian Muslims. Your current defense minister tried to deny it a few months ago, but ended up admitting himself that Turkey extends military support. Also, there are other cases indicating that Turkey intends to show its military presence around Yugoslavia and in the Balkans. You signed military cooperation agreements with all our neighbors, but not with Yugoslavia.

[Birand] In other words, you are saying that Turkey is trying to divide Yugoslavia. Is that what we should understand?

[Jovanovic] I do not want to go that far, to believe that. However, it is obvious that Turkey wants to disturb Yugoslavia. Otherwise, it would not have pursued a policy of constant attack against Yugoslavia in the international arena.

Let us leave Bosnia for a moment. Can you tell me what the leader of the Albanian separatists in Yugoslavia, Rugova, was doing in Ankara and why he was given the red carpet treatment there? The same is true for the leader of the Muslim separatists in Sandzak. Turkey is trying with all its might to involve the Organization of the Islamic Conference with Vojvodina. Why? What can the reason be? To tell you the truth, we are disappointed.

[Birand] Whoever wants to punish Turkey, gets involved with the Kurdish problem. A Kurdish delegation arrived here and discussed developments in Turkey at a news conference and left. I wonder if they really left or will they come back in a while and hoist PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] flags here as well? It is not yet certain. What is certain is that Yugoslavia is extremely fertile ground both for the PKK and the Kurdish problem.

[Jovanovic] A few months ago, a delegation of Kurdish intellectuals arrived here. They expressed their views and held a news conference. That is all.

[Birand] Everybody seems to be playing with fire in the region. Some play with the Kurdish fire, some with other fires.

[Jovanovic] Unlike Turkey, we do not want to play with fire in other countries. Turkey has been playing with artificial fires in Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina. We do not understand why Turkey engages in such activities in Yugoslavia. Now, we expect only one thing from Ankara—that it should try to balance its attitude toward the Yugoslav crisis, and that it should stop trying to expel Yugoslavia from the international community; that is all.

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Strikes, Unrest Bring Economy to Brink of 'Abyss'

AU0407070195 Paris AFP in English 2311 GMT 3 Jul 95

[Report by Milan Dragovic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 4 (AFP)—Three years of oil and trade sanctions against rump Yugoslavia have brought the economy to the brink of the abyss, setting off a rash of strikes and protest movements as widespread impoverishment sets in.

At Pancevo near here, 1,200 aircraft factory workers have been on strike for six weeks, and a few days ago 200 of them blocked road and rail traffic to Hungary and Romania. They are all owed four months' pay.

In the Rakovica suburb, more than half the 1,300 foundrymen at the IMT smelting works are on strike in support of calls for a rise in the minimum wage, set at about 30 dollars months ago and unchanged despite constant rises in the price of food.

Staff of the luxury Jugoeksport chain stores stopped work a week ago: They have not been paid for eight months.

Farmers are enraged at the low buy-in price offered by the government for their three million tonne [metric ton] wheat harvest.

The state is so short of ready cash that it intends paying for the grain partly in kind, with fuel and fertilisers. Zaharije Trnavcevic, head of the Serbian parliament's agricultural committee, warned at the weekend that a fair number of growers might boycott the harvest.

Leading economists who gathered at Budva in Montenegro last week drew an alarming picture of the Yugoslav economy, pinpointing inflationary pressures, moribund industrial activity, technological hitches, trading reduced to its most basic forms, and worrying social problems arising from unemployment.

More than 700,000 people are out of work, and half of the 2.2 million wage earners are on short time.

External debt stands at $9 billion. Two billion dollars of Yugoslav assets are frozen in foreign banks, mostly American, and a further $5 billion of debts owing abroad cannot be recovered until sanctions are lifted.

At home, the state owes $4.5 billion to account holders whose savings in foreign currency it blocked when war broke out in former Yugoslavia four years ago.

According to government estimates, the UN embargo ordered on May 31 1992 against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) because of its backing for Bosnian Serbs has cost the country $150 billion and pushed living standards to the level of the 1960s.

President Slobodan Milosevic has for months been making vain calls for sanctions to be lifted, arguing that Belgrade no longer gives the Bosnian Serbs military and political backing. At the same time he is refusing any further gesture to the international community, such as recognising Bosnia-Herzegovina in exchange for suspension of the economic embargo.

Well served by official propaganda which deflects popular discontent by blaming the "one-sided" attitude of the West for Yugoslavia's woes, Milosevic maintains a public support rating of about 40 percent in the latest opinion polls, well ahead of opposition leaders who appear increasingly marginalised.

In a country where the average monthly pay is about $50, smuggling with neighbouring Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is the only way to survive for tens of thousands of Yugoslavs, in or out of work. It is tolerated, even encouraged, by the authorities, as it makes up for shortages of fuel, cigarettes, sugar and detergents.

Unemployment, creeping pauperisation and proximity to the Bosnian fighting are held responsible for an unprecedented rise in crime and drug taking. Here in the capital, 15,000 youths are known addicts in a population of 1.5 million, and every three weeks or so the police report a murder committed by a minor.

Kosovo

Rugova Praises U.S. 'Huge Understanding'

AU0507103995 Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English 4 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Constitutional Declaration, adopted on 2 July 1990 by the Assembly of Kosova, which came to be known as the Independence Declaration, represents a touchstone of Kosova's statehood, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said in an exclusive interview with BUJKU newspaper and its RILINDJA editions in Tirana and Switzerland. The event has proved "a qualitative turning point" in the national identity of the Kosova Albanians, Dr. Rugova said, echoing the context in which it occurred, namely the fact that the eight-unit Yugoslav Federation, of which Kosova was an equitable part, was on the brink of dismemberment in the wake of an aggressive Serbian nationalistic policy.

President Rugova mentioned the September 1990 promulgation of the Republic of Kosova Constitution, the

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1991 popular referendum on Kosova's sovereignty and independence, as well as the May 1992 elections as very important follow-up moves in the recent history of Kosova. "The Albanians in Kosova have in the meantime maintained their political and social life, have run their educational system, but also a health-care system as well as private businesses," Dr. Ibrahim Rugova told BUJKU, noting that the society and state of Kosova has been functioning in the past five years in the "political, state, and social terms." The Albanians have proved they can be masters of their fate and will not be a destabilising factor in the region, no "trouble-makers," President of Kosova said, adding: "I have been seeing an increasing credibility of and respect for the resistance of the people of Kosova."

Asked to further touch on the modes of functioning of the Kosova society and state, President Rugova said the Parliament of Kosova (elected in the 1992 elections, which could not convene due to the prevailing emergency situation and the security concerns, KIC) has been operating through parliamentary groups and committees. The Kosova Government operates, partly abroad, party here in Kosova, Dr. Rugova remarked, adding that the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) as the biggest and the most stable political force has been very active. Kosova is a society that is being promoted whilst resisting Serbian violence, President Rugova noted. He said "the Kosova problem has not been created by Albanians, but rather their occupiers," adding that it should be addressed within the framework of all the problems that have come across in former Yugoslavia as a result of "elements of national agressivity."

Asked to comment on the "propagandistic parallelism" between Kosova and the Krajina region in Croatia, President Rugova of Kosova said it was now a passed advancement. "It is clear to all that Kosova used to have a clear position in the former Yugoslavia, as a federal unit equal to Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, etc.," Dr. Rugova said, adding that Kosova had the right to veto and the right to representation at top federal level. "Bearing on this, but also based on international acts, Kosova can be compared to nothing else but the republics, as independent federal units," he stressed.

The United States of America was among the first states to have committed themselves to the plight of Kosova, President Rugova said, making mention of the assistance it has offered to Kosova and the "huge understanding it has shown towards the Kosova Albanians' resistance."

Kosova President valued highly the role of Albania and its support to Kosova at the diplomatic level in the past few years. "We are fortunate enough to work together (with Albania) at the political, diplomatic, and human level after half a century," Dr. Rugova said, stressing that the most important parliamentary parties in Albania are supportive of Kosova's independence.

Ending his interview with RILINDJA/BUJKU, President Rugova said his current preoccupation was to "defend the will of the people (of Kosova) in practical life."

Further Rugova Remarks

AU0507104195 Pristina Kosova Daily Report in English 3 Jul 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On the occasion of July 2nd, the fifth anniversary of the Independence Declaration of Kosova, President of the Republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova gave an exclusive declaration to the Albanian Radio and Television, which was broadcast yesterday (2 July).

Five years have passed since Kosova's Independence Declaration was adopted, followed by the promulgation of the (Republic of Kosova) Constitution, the (1991) popular Referendum and the 1992 free elections, said Dr. Ibrahim Rugova in the message. He added: "July 2nd is a very important historical date for the people of Kosova and the Albanian nation as a whole." President Rugova went on to say that Kosova has managed to organize itself and maintain its national fabric despite a severe Serbian occupation. The Kosova problem is a key problem in the Balkans, but not an isolated one, he said. In the past five years Kosova has earned an international subjectivity, an international respect, strong support and sympathy for the active, but nonviolent resistance of the people of Kosova and its sacrifices, President Rugova stated. "All this tribute is owing to the fact that, on a daily basis, we are institutionalizing the Republic of Kosova and its independence in the wake of (Serbian) occupation."

Kosova President Rugova ended his message voicing the hope and cherishing the wish that the future anniversaries of the July 2nd are commemorated in a free Republic of Kosova. July 2nd was commemorated by citizens of the Republic of Kosova both here in Kosova and those living and working as guest-workers abroad. Festivities were held in Tirana, Geneva, Toronto, Melbourne, Skien (Sweden), as well as in several places in Kosova.

LDK's Agani Summarizes Rugova U.S. Visit

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[FBIS Editorial Report] Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian on 1 July carries on page three a 1,200-word report by Behxhet Haliti on a news conference given by Fehmi Agani, deputy chairman of the Democratic League

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of Kosova [LDK], in Prishtina on 30 June, entitled "Albania's Admission to the Council of Europe—A Great Victory for all Albanians."

Agani is reported as saying, "President Rugova's recently completed visits to Spain and the United States were successful." "Dr. Rugova met Spanish Foreign Minister Solana and U.S. Secretary of State Christopher, important and influential people in U.S. political life such as Senator Dole, and state officials of the highest level." "As for the talks in Washington, the State Department spokesman Mr. Burns himself called them excellent. These talks were successful because of the understanding and support shown for the cause of Kosova. These visits showed yet again how vain and improbable are Serbia's efforts to contain the crisis of Kosova within her own borders, to stifle and marginalize it, and to treat it as her internal affair."

After speaking about the "undiminished" Serbian repression in Kosova, Agani said, "Serbian nationalist and government circles tried in vain to celebrate 28 June and to create mythological links between the Battle of Kosova six centuries ago, Gazimestan six years ago, and chauvinist aspirations today." (Reference to celebrations of 600th anniversary of Battle of Kosovo held on the site of the battle at Gazimestan in 1989) "They tried to whip up excitement and to demonstrate a continuity by bringing enormous statues and erecting them in Prizren and Obiliq, writing maps, and distributing medals. Writers 'from all the Serbian lands' tried to encourage this spirit. However, the performance turned out a pallid affair and its wretchedness was exposed. Myths and imperial illusions did not succeed in concealing the fact that this year all these things seemed an effort to create new illusions to conceal the failure of the notion of war as launched six years ago by Milosevic here in Kosova itself, the catastrophic results of this idea, and the collapse of false promises."

Agani goes on to say that "Dragan Tomic, chairman of the Serbian parliament and the most important mouthpiece for this miserable 'triumph' of united Serbia, saw fit, without mentioning the Albanians, to formulate conditions for a 'solution to the present confrontation.' The path toward better relations, he said, lies 'not in division and confrontation,' but in 'respecting the sovereignty of Serbia, giving up the idea of secession, and respecting civil and human rights.' Dialogue, Tomic said, is possible on this basis!" The message, Professor Agani said, is clear, even if outdated. "It is the message of Serbian hegemony. Accept Serbian rule in Kosova as an accomplished fact and we will offer you individual and human rights, of course in a Serbian variation. This closes all dialogue and is a testimony to Serbia's official inability to solve the problem of Kosova today."

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